خمس رسائل

لابن بطلان البغدادي ولابن رضوان المصري

وتراجم المؤلفين

صححها ونقلها الى اللغة الانكليزية وزاد عليها مقدمة وتعاليق

الدكتور يوسف شخت

والدكتور ماكس مايرهوف



القاهرة

مطبعة بول باربيه حارة عابد نمرة ٨ عابدين

الجامعة المصرية

كلية الاداب – المؤلف رقم ١٣



خمس رسائل

لابن بطلان البغدادى ولابن رضوان المصرى

وتراجم المؤلفين

صححها ونقلها الى اللغة الانكليزية وزاد عليها مقدمة وتعاليق

الدكتور يوسف شخت

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مطبعة بول باربيه – حارة فايد نمرة ٨ شارع ابراهيم باشا بمصر

فهرست التراجم والرسائل

التراجم

صحيفة

الرسائل

حل الرموز

ب : نسخة مكتبة Bodleian، رقم ١٢٦٤ من الفهرس (ج ١)

ت : نسخة الخزانة التيمورية بدار الكتب المصرية ، رقم ٤٠٧ طب

ج : مجلد

س : سطر

ص: صحيفة

ط : تاريخ الحكماء لابن القفطى ، طبعة ليبزيغ ١٩٠٣

ظ : ظهر الصحيفة

ع : عيون الانباء فى طبقات الاطباء لابن ابى أصيبعة ، طبعة مصر ١٢٩٩/١٨٨٢

ل : نسخة مكتبة ليدن ، رقم ٩٥٨

م : نسخة المدرسة الاحمدية بالموصل ، رقم ١٥٢ من كتاب مخطوطات الموصل للدكتور داود الچلبى (بغداد ١٣٤٦/١٩٢٧)

و : وجه الصحيفة

التراجم

١ — ترجمة ابن رضوان

من كتاب تاريخ الحكماء لابن القفطى

[ص ٤٤٣ س ١٩] ابن رضوان المصرى

واسمه على بن رضوان بن على بن جعفر الطبيب كان عالم مصر فى أوانه ٥
فى الأيام المستنصرية فى وسط المائة الخامسة وكان فى اول أمره منجماً يقعد على
الطريق ويرتزق لا بطريق التحقيق كعادة المنجمين [ص ٤٤٤] ثم قرأ شيئا
من الطب وشيئا من المنطق وكان من المغلفين لا المحققين ولم يكن حسن المنظر
ولا الهيئة ومع هذا فتلمذ له جماعة من الطلبة وأخذوا عنه وسار ذكره
وصنف كتباً لم تكن فى غاية بابها بل هى مختلفة ملتقطة مبتكرة مستنبطة ١٠
ولابن بطلان معه مجالس ومحاورات وسؤالات وقد ذكرت بعضها فى أخبار
ابن بطلان ورأيت لابن رضوان كتاباً فى أحكام النجوم شرح فيه الاربعة
لبطلميوس لم يأت فيه بكبير ورأيت له كتابا فى ترتيب كتب جالينوس
فى الطب وكيف نوع قراءتها عند أخذها هام فيه حول كلام الاسكندرانيين
فاما تلاميذه فقد كانوا ينقلون عنه من التعاليل الطبية والاقاويل النجومية ١٥
والالفاظ المنطقية ما يضحك منه إن صدق النقلة ولم يزل ابن رضوان بمصر
متصدرا لافادة ما هو موسوم به من هذه الأنواع العلمية إلى أن توفى فى حدود
سنة ستين واربعمائة

وكان ابن رضوان يكتب خطا متوسطا من خطوط الحكماء جالساً مبين

الحروف رأيت بخطه مقالة الحسن بن الحسن بن الهيثم فى ضوء القمر قد شكله تشكيلا حسنا صحيحا يدل على تبحره فى هذا الشأن وكتب فى آخره : وكتبه على بن رضوان بن على بن جعفر الطبيب لنفسه وكان الفراغ منها فى يوم الجمعة النصف من شعبان سنة ٤٢٢ للهجرة النبوية

٢ — ترجمة ابن رضوان

من كتاب عيون الانباء في طبقات الاطباء لابن ابى أصيبعة

[ج ٢ ص ٩٩ س ١٨] على بن رضوان

هو ابو الحسن على بن رضوان بن على بن جعفر وكان مولده ومنشؤه بمصر وبها تعلم الطب وقد ذكر على بن رضوان فى سيرته من كيفية تعلمه صناعة الطب وأحواله ما هذا نصه : ٥

قال انه لما كان ينبغى لكل إنسان أليق الصنائع به وأوفقها له وكانت صناعة الطب تتاخم الفلسفة طاعة لله عز وجل وكانت دلالات النجوم فى مولدى تدل على أن صناعتى الطب وكان العيش عندى فى الفضيلة ألذ من كل عيش أخذت فى تعليم صناعة الطب وأنا ابن خمس عشرة سنة . والاجود ان اقتص اليك أمرى كله . ولدت بأرض مصر فى عرض ثلاثين درجة وطول خمس وخمسين ١٠ درجة والطالع بزيج يحيى بن ابى منصور الحمل ه لو وعاشره الجدى ه كح ومواضع الكواكب: الشمس بالدلو ه لب والقمر بالعقرب ح يه وعرضه جنوب ح يز وزحل بالقوس كط والمشترى بالجدى ه كح والمريخ بالدلو كا مج والزهرة بالقوس كد ك وعطارد بالدلو يط وسهم السعادة بالجدى د ه وجزء الاستقبال المتقدم بالسرطان كب ى والجوزهر بالقوس يز يا والذنب بالجوزاء ١٥ يز ما والنسر الواقع بالجدى ا كب والشعرى العبور بالسرطان ه يب . فلما بلغت السنة السادسة اسلمت نفسى فى التعليم ولما بلغت السنة العاشرة انتقلت الى المدينة العظمى وأجهدت نفسى فى التعليم ولما أتممت أربع عشرة سنة أخذت فى تعليم

الطب والفلسفة ولم يكن لى مال انفق منه فلذلك عرض لى فى التعليم صعوبة ومشقة [ص ١٠٠] فكنت مرة اتكسب بصناعة القضايا بالنجوم ومرة بصناعة الطب ومرة بالتعليم ولم أزل كذلك وأنا فى غاية الاجتهاد فى التعلم الى السنة الثانية والثلاثين فانى اشتهرت فيها بالطب وكفانى ما كنت أكسبه بالطب بل وكان يفضل عنى الى وقتى هذا وهو آخر السنة التاسعة والخمسين . وكسبت مما فضل عن نفقتى أملاكا فى هذه المدينة ان كتب الله عليها السلامة وبلغنى سن الشيخوخة كفانى فى النفقة عليها وكنت منذ السنة الثانية والثلاثين الى يومى هذا أعمل تذكرة لى وأغيرها فى كل سنة الى أن قررتها على هذا التقرير الذى أستقبل به السنة الستين من ذلك . أتصرف فى كل يوم فى صناعتى بمقدار ما يغنى من الرياضة التى تحفظ صحة البدن واغتذى بعد الاستراحة من الرياضة غذاء أقصد به حفظ الصحة واجتهد فى حال تصرفى فى التواضع والمداراة وغياث الملهوف وكشف كربة المكروب واسعاف المحتاج وأجعل قصدى فى كل ذلك الالتذاذ بالافعال والانفعالات الجميلة ولا بد أن يحصل مع ذلك كسب ماينفق . فانفق منه على صحة بدنى وعمارة منزلى نفقة لا تبلغ التبذير ولا تنحط الى التقتير وتلزم الحال الوسطى بقدر ما يوجبه التعقل فى كل وقت وأتفقد آلات منزلى فما يحتاج الى اصلاح أصلحته وما يحتاج الى بدل بدلته وأعد فى منزلى ما يحتاج اليه من الطعام والشراب والعسل والزيت والحطب وما يحتاج اليه من الثياب فما فضل بعد ذلك كله صرفته فى وجوه الجميل والمنافع مثل اعطاء الاهل والاخوان والجيران وعمارة المنزل وما اجتمع من غلة أملاكى ادخرته لعمارتها ومرمتها ولوقت الحاجة الى مثله . واذا هممت لتجديد أمر مثل تجارة أو بناء أو غير ذلك فرضته مطلوبا وحللته الى موضوعاته ولوازمها فان وجدته من الممكن الاكثر بادرت اليه وان وجدته من الممكن القليل

أطرحته وأتعرف ما يمكنني تعريفه من الامور المزمعة وآخذ له أهبته واجعل ثيابى مزينة بشعار الاخيار والنظافة وطيب الرائحة والزم الصمت وكف اللسان عن معايب الناس وأجتهد أن لا أتكلم الا بما ينبغى وأتوقى الايمان ومثالب الآراء فاحذر العجب وحب الغلبة واطرح الهم الحرصى والاغتمام وان دهمنى أمر فادح اسلمت فيه الى الله تعالى وقابلته بما يوجبه التعقل من غير جبن ولا تهور ومن عاملته عاملته يدا بيد لا أسلف ولا أتسلف الا ان اضطر لذلك وان طلب منى أحد سلفا وهبت منه ولم أرد منه عوضا. وما بقى من يومى بعد فراغى من رياضتى صرفته فى عبادة الله سبحانه بأن أتنزه بالنظر فى ملكوت السموات والارض وتمجيد محكمها وأتدبر مقالة أرسطوطاليس فى التدبير وآخذ نفسى بلزوم وصاياها بالغداة والعشى وأتفقد فى وقت خلوتى ماسلف فى يومى من أفعالى وانفعالاتى فما كان خيرا وجميلا ونافعاً سررت به وما كان شرا أو قبيحا أو ضارا اغتممت به ووافقت نفسى بأن لا أعود الى مثله

قال وأما الاشياء التى أتنزه فيها فلأنى فرضت نزهتى ذكر الله عز وجل وتمجيده بالنظر فى ملكوت السماء والارض وكان قد كتب القدماء والعارفون فى ذلك كتبا كثيرة رأيت أن أقتصر منها على ما انصه من ذلك: خمسة كتب من كتب الادب وعشرة كتب من كتب الشرع وكتب ابقراط وجالينوس فى صناعة الطب وما جانسها مثل كتاب الحشائش لذيسقوريذس وكتب روفس وأريباسيوس وبولس [ص ١٠١] وكتاب الحاوى للرازى ومن كتب الفلاحة والصيدلة أربعة كتب ومن كتب التعاليم المجسطى ومداخله وما انتفع به فيه. والمربعة لبطلميوس ومن كتب العارفين كتب افلاطن وارسطوطاليس والاسكندر وثامسطيوس ومحمد الفارابى وما انتفع به فيها وما سوى ذلك اما أبيعه بأى ثمن اتفق وإما أن أخزنه فى صناديق وبيعه أجود من خزنه

أقول هذا جملة ما ذكره من سيرته وكان مولده فى ديار مصر بالجيزة ونشأ بمدينة مصر وكان أبوه فرانا ولم يزل ملازما للاشتغال والنظر فى العلم الى أن تميز وصار له الذكر الحسن والسمعة العظيمة وخدم الحاكم وجعله رئيسا على سائر المتطببين . وكانت دار ابن رضوان بمدينة مصر فى قصر الشمع وهى الى الآن تعرف به وقد تهدمت ولم يتبين الا بقايا يسيرة من آثارها . وحدث فى الزمان الذى كان فيه ابن رضوان بديار مصر الغلاء العظيم والجلاء الفادح الذى هلك به اكثر اهلها ونقلت من خط المختار بن الحسن بن بطلان ان الغلاء عرض بمصر فى سنة خمس واربعين واربعمائة قال : ونقص النيل فى السنة التى تليها وتزايد الغلاء وتبعه وباء عظيم واشتد وعظم فى سنة سبع واربعين واربعمائة وحكى أن السلطان كفن من ماله ثمانين الف نفس وأنه فقد ثمانمائه قائد وحصل للسلطان من المواريث مال جزيل

وحدثنى ابو عبد الله محمد المالقى الناسخ ان ابن رضوان تغير عقله فى آخر عمره وكان السبب فى ذلك أنه فى ذلك الغلاء كان قد أخذ يتيمة رباها وكبرت عنده فلما كان فى بعض الايام خلا لها الموضع وكان قد ادخر أشياء نفيسة ومن الذهب نحو عشرين الف دينار فاخذت الجميع وهربت ولم يظفر منها على خبر ولا عرف أين توجهت فتغيرت احواله من حينئذ . اقول وكان ابن رضوان كثير الرد على من كان معاصره من الاطباء وغيرهم وكذلك على كثير ممن تقدمه وكانت عنده سفاهة فى بحثه وتشنيع على من يريد مناقشته واكثر ذلك يوجد عند ماكان يرد على حنين بن اسحق وعلى ابى الفرج بن الطيب وكذلك أيضا على ابى بكر محمد ابن زكرياء الرازى . ولم يكن لابن رضوان فى صناعة الطب معلم ينسب اليه وله كتاب فى ذلك يتضمن أن تحصيل الصناعة من الكتب أوفق من المعلمين وقد رد عليه ابن بطلان هذا الرأى وغيره فى كتاب مفرد وذكر فصلا

فى العلل التى من أجلها صار المتعلم من افواه الرجال أفضل من المتعلم من الصحف اذا كان قبولهما واحدا وأورد عدة علل . . . . .

[قد أورد ابن ابى اصيبعة هاهنا بعض ما فى كتاب ابن بطلان هذا ، وهو الرسالة الثالثة من الرسائل الخمس الآتية ، ثم قال] [ص ١٠٢ س ٢٣]

وكانت وفاة على بن رضوان رحمه الله فى سنة ثلاث وخمسين واربعمائة بمصر وذلك فى خلافة المستنصر بالله ابى تميم معد بن الظاهر لاعزاز دين الله ابن الحاكم ٥

ومن كلام على بن رضوان : قال اذا كانت للانسان صناعة ترتاض بها أعضاؤه ويمدحه بها الناس ويكسب بها كفايته فى بعض يومه فأفضل ما ينبغى له فى باقى يومه ان يصرفه فى طاعة ربه وأفضل الطاعات النظر فى الملكوت وتمجيد المالك لها سبحانه ومن رزق ذلك فقد رزق خير الدنيا والآخرة وطوبى له وحسن مآب ١٠

ومن كلامه نقلته من خطه : قال الطبيب على رأى بقراط هو الذى اجتمعت فيه سبع خصال

(الاولى) أن يكون تام الخلق صحيح الاعضاء حسن الذكاء جيد الرواية عاقلا ذكورا خير الطبع ١٥

(الثانية) أن يكون حسن الملبس طيب الرائحة نظيف البدن والثوب

(الثالثة) أن يكون كتوما لاسرار المرضى لا يبوح بشىء من أمراضهم

(الرابعة) أن تكون رغبته فى ابراء المرضى أكثر من رغبته [ص١٠٣] فيما يلتمسه من الاجرة ورغبته فى علاج الفقراء أكثر من رغبته فى علاج الاغنياء ٢٠

(الخامسة) أن يكون حريصا على التعليم والمبالغة فى منافع الناس

(السادسة) أن يكون سليم القلب عفيف النظر صادق اللهجة لا يخطر

بباله شيء من أمور النساء والاموال التي شاهدها في منازل الاعلاء فضلا عن أن يتعرض الى شيء منها

(السابعة) أن يكون مأمونا ثقة على الارواح والاموال لا يصف دواء قتالا ولا يعلمه ولا دواء يسقط الاجنة يعالج عدوه بنية صادقة كما يعالج حبيبه . وقال : المعلم لصناعة الطب هو الذي اجتمعت فيه هذه الخصال بعد استكماله صناعة الطب والمتعلم لها هو الذي فراسته تدل على أنه ذو طبع خير ونفس ذكية وأن يكون حريصا على التعليم ذكيا ذكورا لما قد تعلمه .

وقال : البدن السليم من العيوب هو البدن الصحيح الذي كل واحد من أعضائه باق على فضيلته اعني أن يكون يفعل فعله الخاص على ما ينبغي . وقال : تعرف العيوب هو أن تنظر الى هيئة الاعضاء والسحنة والمزاج وملمس البشرة وتتفقد أفعال الاعضاء الباطنة والظاهرة مثل أن تنادي به من بعيد فتعتبر بذلك حال سمعه وأن تعتبر بصره بنظر الاشياء البعيدة والقريبة ولسانه بجودة الكلام وقوته بشيل الثقل والمسك والضبط والمشي وأنحاء ذلك مثل أن تنظر مشيه مقبلا ومدبرا ويؤمر بالاستلقاء على ظهره ممدود اليدين قد نصب رجليه وصفهما وتعتبر بذلك حال احشائه وتتعرف حال مزاج قلبه بالنبض وبالاخلاق ومزاج كبده بالبول وحال الاخلاط وتعتبر عقله بأن يسأل عن أشياء وفهمه وطاعته بأن يؤمر بأشياء واخلاقه الى ما تميل بان تعتبر كل واحد منها بما يحركه او يسكنه وعلى هذا المثال اجر الحال في تفقد كل واحد من الاعضاء والاخلاق . أما فيما يمكن ظهوره للحس فلا تقنع فيه حتى تشاهده بالحس وأما فيما يتعرف بالاستدلال ما يستدل عليه بالعلامات الخاصية وأما فيما يتعرف بالمسئلة فابحث عنه بالمسئلة حتى تعتبر كل واحد من العيوب فتعرف هل عيب حاضر أو كان أو متوقع أم الحال حال صحة وسلامة

ومن كلامه : قال اذا دعيت الى مريض فاعطه مما لا يضره الى ان تعرف علته فتعالجها عند ذلك ومعنى معرفة المرض هو أن تعرف من أى خلط حدث أولا ثم تعرف بعد ذلك فى أى عضو هو وعند ذلك تعالجه

ولعلى بن رضوان من الكتب :

(١) شرح كتاب الفرق لجالينوس وفرغ من شرحه له فى يوم الخميس لليلتين بقيتا من ذى الحجة سنة اثنتين وثلاثين واربعمائة ٥

(٢) شرح كتاب الصناعة الصغيرة لجالينوس

(٣) « « النبض الصغير لجالينوس

(٤) « « جالينوس الى اغلوقن فى التأنى لشفاء الامراض

(٥) « المقالة الاولى فى خمس مقالات ١٠

(٦) وشرح المقالة الثانية فى مقالتين

(٧) شرح كتاب الاسطقسات لجالينوس

(٨) « بعض كتاب المزاج لجالينوس ولم يشرح من الكتب الستة عشر لجالينوس سوى ما ذكرت

(٩) كتاب الاصول فى الطب أربع مقالات كناش ١٥

(١٠) رسالة فى علاج الجذام

(١١) كتاب تتبع مسائل حنين مقالتان

(١٢) « النافع فى كيفية تعليم صناعة الطب ثلاث مقالات

(١٣) مقالة فى أن جالينوس لم يغلط فى أقاويله فى اللبن على ما ظنه قوم

(١٤) « « دفع المضار عن الابدان بمصر ٢٠

(١٥) « « سيرته

(١٦) « « الشعير وما يعمل منه الفها لابى زكرياء يهودا بن سعادة

الطبيب

(١٧) جوابه لمسائل فى لبن الاتن سأله اياها يهودا بن سعادة

(١٨) تعاليق [ص ١٠٤] طبية

(١٩) « نقلها فى صيدلة الطب

(٢٠) مقالة فى مذهب ابقراط فى تعليم الطب

(٢١) كتاب فى ان افضل احوال عبدالله بن الطيب الحال السوفسطائية وهو خمس مقالات

(٢٢) كتاب فى ان لاشخاص[١] كل واحد من الانواع المتناسلة ابا[١] اول منه تناسلت الاشخاص على مذهب الفلسفة

(٢٣) تفسير مقالة الحكيم فيثاغورس فى الفضيلة

(٢٤) مقالة فى الرد على افرائيم وابن زرعة فى الاختلاف فى الملل

(٢٥) انتزاعات شروح جالينوس لكتب ابقراط

(٢٦) كتاب الانتصار لارسطوطاليس وهو كتاب التوسط بينه وبين خصومه المناقضين له فى السماع الطبيعى تسع وثلاثون مقالة

(٢٧) تفسير ناموس الطب لابقراط

(٢٨) تفسير وصية ابقراط المعروفة بترتيب الطب

(٢٩) كلام فى الادوية المسهلة

(٣٠) كتاب فى عمل الاشربة والمعاجين

(٣١) تعليق من كتاب التميمى فى الاغذية والادوية

(٣٢) « « « فوسيذونيوس فى اشربة لذيذة للاصحاء

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(١) — (١) فى الاصل : الاشخاص . . . اب

(٣٣) فوائد علقها من كتاب فيلغريوس فى الاشربة النافعة اللذيذة فى اوقات الامراض
(٣٤) مقالة فى الباه
(٣٥) « « ان كل واحد من الاعضاء يغتذى من الخلط المشاكل له
(٣٦) « « الطريق الى احصاء عدد الحميات
(٣٧) فصل من كلامه فى القوى الطبيعية
(٣٨) جواب مسائل فى النبض وصل اليه السؤال عنها من الشأم
(٣٩) رسالة فى اجوبة مسائل سأل عنها الشيخ ابو الطيب ازهر ابن النعمان فى الاورام
(٤٠) رسالة فى علاج صبي اصابه المرض المسمى بداء الفيل وداء الاسد
(٤١) نسخة الدستور الذى انفذه ابو المعسكر [١] الحسين بن معدان ملك مكران فى حال علة الفالج فى شقه الايسر وجواب ابن رضوان له
(٤٢) فوائد علقها من كتاب حيلة البرء لجالينوس
(٤٣) « « « « تدبير الصحة لجالينوس
(٤٤) « « « « الكثرة لجالينوس
(٤٥) « « « « الفصد لجالينوس
(٤٦) « « « « الادوية المفردة لجالينوس
(٤٧) « « « « الميامر لجالينوس
(٤٨) « « « « كتاب قاطا جانس لجالينوس

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(١) فى الاصل : العسكر

(٤٩) فوائد علقها فى الاخلاط من كتب عدة لابقراط وجالينوس
(٥٠) كتاب فى حل شكوك الرازى على كتب جالينوس سبع مقالات
(٥١) مقالة فى حفظ الصحة
(٥٢) « « ادوار الحميات
(٥٣) « « التنفس الشديد وهو ضيق النفس ،
(٥٤) رسالة كتب بها الى ابى زكرياء يهودا بن سعادة فى النظام الذى استعمله جالينوس فى تحليل الحد فى كتابه المسمى الصناعة الصغيرة
(٥٥) مقالة فى نقض مقالة ابن بطلان فى الفرخ والفروج
(٥٦) « « الفأر
(٥٧) « فيما اورده ابن بطلان من التحييرات ١
(٥٨) « فى ان ماجهله يقين وحكمه وماعلمه ابن بطلان غلط وسفسطة
(٥٩) « « « ابن بطلان لا يعلم كلام نفسه فضلا عن كلام غيره
(٦٠) رسالة الى اطباء مصر والقاهرة فى خبر ابن بطلان
(٦١) قول له فى جملة الرد عليه
(٦٢) كتاب فى مسائل جرت بينه وبين ابن الهيثم فى المجرة والمكان ١
(٦٣) اخراجه لحواشى كامل الصناعة الطبية الموجود منه بعض الاولى
(٦٤) رسالة فى ازمنة الامراض
(٦٥) مقالة فى التطرق بالطب الى السعادة
(٦٦) « « اسباب مدد حميات الاخلاط وقرانهما
(٦٧) جوابه عما شرح له من حال عليل به علة الفالج فى شقه الايسر ٢
(٦٨) مقالة فى الاورام
(٦٩) كتاب فى الادوية المفردة على حروف المعجم اثنتا عشر مقالة

الموجود منه الى بعض السادسة

(٧٠) مقالة فى شرف الطب

(٧١) رسالة فى الكون والفساد

(٧٢) مقالة فى سبيل السعادة وهى السيرة التى اختارها لنفسه

(٧٣) رسالة [ص ١٠٥] فى بقاء النفس بعد الموت ٥

(٧٤) مقالة فى فضيلة الفلسفة

(٧٥) « « بقاء النفس على رأى افلاطن وارسطوطاليس

(٧٦) اجوبته لمسائل منطقية من كتاب القياس

(٧٧) مقالة فى حل شكوك يحي بن عدى المسماة بالمخرسات

(٧٨) « « الحر ١٠

(٧٩) « « بعث نبوة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم من التوراة والفلسفة

(٨٠) « « أن فى الوجود نقط وخطوط طبيعية

(٨١) « « حدث العالم

(٨٢) « « التنبيه على حيل من ينتحل صناعة القضايا بالنجوم وتشرف أهلها ١٥

(٨٣) مقالة فى خلط الضرورى والوجودى

(٨٤) « « اكتساب الحلال من المال

(٨٥) « « الفرق بين الفاضل من الناس والسديد والعطب

(٨٦) « « كل السياسة

(٨٧) رسالة فى السعادة ٢٠

(٨٨) مقالة فى اعتذاره عما ناقض به المحدثين

(٨٩) « « توحيد الفلاسفة وعبادتهم

(٩٠) كتاب في لرد على الرازى فى العلم الالهى واثبات الرسل
(٩١) « المستعمل من المنطق فى والعلوم والصنائع ثلاث مقالات
(٩٢) رسالة صغرى فى الهيولى صنفها لابى سليمان بن بابشاذ
(٩٣) تذكرتاه المسماة بالكمال الكامل والسعادة القصوى غير كاملة
٥ (٩٤) تعاليقه لفوائد كتب افلاطون المساجرة الهوية طبيعة الانسان
(٩٥) تعاليق فوائد مدخل فرفوريوس
(٩٦) تهذيب كتاب الحابس فى رياسة الثنا الموجود منه بعض لا كل
(٩٧) تعاليق فى أن خط الاستواء بالطبع اظلم ليلا وان جوهره بالعرض اظلم ليلا
١٠ (٩٨) كتاب فيما ينبغى ان يكون فى حانوت الطبيب اربع مقالات
(٩٩) مقالة فى هواء مصر
(١٠٠) « « مزاج السكر
(١٠١) « « التنبيه على مافى كلام ابن بطلان من الهذيان
(١٠٢) رسالة فى دفع مضار الحلوى بالمحرور

٣ - وقال ابن ابى أصيبعة

في كتاب عيون الانباء في طبقات الاطباء :

[ج ١ ص ١٠ س ١٩] ونقلت من خط على بن رضوان فى شرحه لكتاب جالينوس فى فرق الطب ما هذا نصه:

قال وقد كان عرض لى منذ سنين صداع مبرح عن امتلاء فى عروق الرأس ففصدت فلم يسكن واعدت الفصد مرارا وهو باق على حاله فرأيت جالينوس فى النوم وقد أمرنى ان أقرأ عليه حيلة البرء فقرأت عليه منها سبع مقالات فلما بلغت الى آخر السابعة قال فنسيت ما بك من الصداع وأمرنى ان احجم القمحدوة من الرأس ثم استيقظت فحجمتها فبرأت من الصداع على المكان ٥

٤ — ترجمة بن بطلان

من كتاب تاريخ الحكماء لابن القفطي

[ص ٢٩٤ س ٧] المختار بن الحسن بن عبدون

الحكيم أبو الحسن الطبيب البغدادى المعروف بابن بطلان طبيب منطقى نصرانى من اهل بغداد قرأ على علماء زمانه من نصارى الكرخ وكان مشوه الخلقة غير صبيحها كما شاء الله فيه وفضل فى علم الاوائل يرتزق بصناعة الطب وخرج عن بغداد الى الجزيرة والموصل وديار بكر ودخل حلب واقام بها مدة وما حمدها وخرج عنها الى مصر واقام بها مدة قريبة واجتمع فيها بابن رضوان المصرى الفيلسوف فى وقته وجرت بينهما منافرة احدثتها المغالبة فى المناظرة وخرج بن بطلان عن مصر مغضباً على ابن رضوان وورد انطاكية راجعاً عن مصر فاقام بها وقد سئم كثرة الاسفار وضاق عطنه عن معاشرة الأغمار فغلب على خاطره الانقطاع فنزل بعض ديرة انطاكية وترهب وانقطع الى العبادة الى ان توفى بها فى شهور سنة اربع واربعين واربعمائة

شاهدت فى كتاب الربيع لمحمد بن هلال بن المحسن نسخة كتاب ورد من ابن بطلان بعد خروجه من بغداد بصورة ما لقى فى سفرته الى الرئيس هلال ابن المحسن بن ابراهيم نسخته : [ص ٢٩٥]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انا لما اعتقده من خدمة سيدنا السيد الاجل أطال الله بقاءه وكبت أعداءه دانيا وقاصيا وافترضه من طاعته مقيما وظاعنا اضمرت عند وداعى حضرته العالية وقد ودعت منها الفضل والسودد والمجد والفخر

والمحتد ان أتقرب اليها واجدد ذكرى عندها بالمطالعة مما استطرفه من اخبار البلاد التى أطرقها واستغربها من غرائب الاصقاع التى اسلكها خدمة للكتاب الذى هو تاريخ المحاسن والمفاخر وديوان المعالى والمآثر ليودعه أدام الله تمكينه منها ما يراه ويلحق ما يستوفقه و يرضاه وعلى ذكره فما رأيت احدا بمصر وهذه الاعمال أكثر من الراغب فيه وكل رئيس فى هذه الديار متشوف اليه متشوق لوصوله مترقب متوقع ولو وصلت منه نسخة لبلغ الجالب لها امنيته فى ربحها ونفعها والى الله تعالى ارغب فى نشر فضيلته الباهرة ومحاسنه الزاهرة بجوده . وكنت خرجت من بغداد وبدأت بلقاء مشايخ البلاد وخواصها واستملاء ما عندهم من آثارها وعجائبها فذكر لى اخبار مستطرفة وعجائب غريبة واقطاع من الشعر رائقة ولضيق الوقت وسرعة الرسول اضربت عن اكثره واختصرت على اقله وكنت خرجت على اسم الله تعالى وبركته مستهل شهر رمضان سنة اربعين واربعمائة مصعدا فى نهر عيسى على الانبار ووصلت الى الرحبة بعد تسع عشرة رحلة وهى مدينة طيبة وفيها من انواع الفواكه ما لايحصى وبها تسعة عشر نوعا من الاعناب وهى متوسطة بين الانبار وحلب وتكريت والموصل وسنجار والجزيرة وبينها وبين قصر الرصافة مسيرة اربعة ايام [1] .

(١) فى معجم البلدان لياقوت ج ٢ ص ٧٨٥ س ١٣ : وذكرها ابن بطلان الطبيب فى رسالته الى هلال بن المحسن فقال وبين الرصافة والرحبة مسيرة اربعة أيام قال وهذا القصر يعنى قصر الرصافة حصن دون دار الخلافة ببغداد مبنى بالحجارة وفيه بيعة عظيمة ظاهرها بالفص المذهب انشاء قسطنطين بن هيلانة وجدد الرصافة وسكنها هشام بن عبد الملك وكان يفرع اليها من البق فى شاطىء الفرات وتحت البيعة صهريج فى الارض على مثل بناء الكنيسة معقود على اساطين الرخام مبلط بالمرمر مملوء من ماء المطر وسكان هذا الحصن بادية اكثرهم نصارى معاشهم تخفير القوافل وجلب المتاع والصعاليك مع اللصوص وهذا القصر فى وسط برية مستوية السطح لا يرد البصر من جوانبها الا الافق ورحلنا منها الى حلب فى اربع رحلات

ورحلنا من الرصافة الى حلب فى اربع رحلات وهى بلد مسور بالحجر الابيض فيه ستة ابواب وفى جانب السور [ص ٢٩٦] قلعة فى اعلاها مسجد وكنيستان وفى احداهما مكان المذبح الذى كان يقرب عليه ابراهيم عليه السلام وفى اسفل القاعة مغارة كان يخبأ فيها غنمه واذا حلبها أضاف بلبنها الناس فكانوا يقولون حلب أم لا ويسأل بعضهم بعضا عن ذلك فسميت حلب ، وفى البلد جامع وست بيع وبيمارستان صغير والفقهاء يفتون على مذهب الامامية وشرب اهل البلد من صهاريج [١] وعلى بابه نهر يعرف بقويق يمد فى الشتاء وينضب فى الصيف وفى وسط البلد دار علوة صاحبة البحترى وهو قليل الفاكهة والبقول والنبيذ الا ما يأتيه من الروم وما بحلب موضع خراب . ومنه : وخرجنا من حلب طالبين انطاكية وبين حلب وبينها يوم وليلة فبتنا فى بلدة للروم تعرف بعم فيها عين جارية يصاد منها السمك ويدور عليها رحا وفيها من الخنازير والنساء العواهر والزنا والخمور امر عظيم وفيها اربع كنائس وجامع يؤذن فيها سرا ، والمسافة التى بين حلب وانطاكية ارض ما فيها خراب اصلا الا ارض زرع للحنطة والشعير بجنب شجر الزيتون قراها متصلة ورياضها مزهرة ومياهها منفجرة [٢] . وانطاكية بلد عظيم ذو سور وفصيل ولسوره ثلثمائة وستون برجاً يطوف عليها بنوبة اربعة آلاف حارس ينفذون من القسطنطينية من حضرة الملك فيضمنون حراسة البلد سنة ويستبدل بهم فى الثانية وشكل

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(١) فى معجم البلدان لياقوت ج ٢ ص ٣٠٧ س ٣ : صهاريج فيه مملوءة بماء المطر

(٢) وفى الكتاب المذكور ج ١ ص ٣٨٣ س ٣ : يقطعها المسافر فى بال ورخى وأمن وسكون

البلد كنصف دائرة قطرها يتصل بجبل والسور يصعد مع الجبل الى قلته ويستتم
دائرة وفى رأس الجبل داخل السور قلعة تبين لبعدها من البلد صغيرة وهذا الجبل
يستر عنها الشمس فلا [ص ٢٩٧] تطلع عليها الا فى الساعة الثانية وللسور
المحيط بها دون الجبل خمسة أبواب وفى وسطها قلعة القسيانى وكانت دار قسيان
الملك الذى أحيا ولده فطرس رئيس الحواريين وهو هيكل طوله مائة خطوة ٥
وعرضه ثمانون وعليه كنيسة على أساطين ودوائر الهيكل أروقة يجلس فيها
القضاة للحكومة ومعلموا النحو واللغة وعلى أحد أبواب هذه الكنيسة فنجان
الساعات يعمل ليلا ونهارا دائما اثنتى عشرة ساعة وهو من عجائب الدنيا وفى
أعلاه خمس طبقات فى الخامسة منها حمامات وبساتين ومقاصير حسنة وتخر منها
المياه [١] وهناك من الكنائس ما لا يحد كثرة كلها معمولة بالفص المذهب ١٠
والزجاج الملون والبلاط المجزع ، وفى البلد بيمارستان يراعى البطريك المرضى
فيه بنفسه [٢] وفى المدينة من الحمامات ما لا يوجد مثله فى مدينة من اللذاذة
والطيبة فان وقودها من الآس وماءها سيح وظاهر البلد نهر يعرف بالمقلوب
يأخذ من الجنوب الى الشمال وهو مثل نهر عيسى [٣] ،وخارج البلد دير سمعان

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(١) فى معجم البلدان لياقوت ج ١ ص ٣٨٣ س ١٦ : وعلة ذلك أن الماء ينزل عليها من الجبل المطل على المدينة

(٢) وفى الكتاب المذكور ج ١ ص ٣٨٣ س ١٨ : ويدخل المجذمين الحمام فى كل سنة فيغسل شعورهم بيده ومثل ذلك يفعل الملك بالضعفاء كل سنة ويعينه على خدمتهم الاجلاء من الرؤساء والبطارقة التماس التواضع ، ثم اورد ياقوت (من ص ٣٨٣ س ٢٢ الى ص ٣٨٥ س ١٩) شيئاً كثيراً لم يذكره ابن القفطى من اخبار انطاكية عن ابن بطلان

(٣) وفى الكتاب المذكور ج ١ ص ٣٨٥ س ٢٠ : وعليه رحى ويسقى البساتين والاراضى

وهو مثل نصف دار الخليفة يضاف فيها المجتازون [1] يقال أن دخله فى السنة اربعمائة الف دينار ومنه يصعد الى الجبل اللكام وفى هذا الجبل من الديارات والصوامع والبساتين والمياه المنفجرة والانهار الجارية والزهاد والسياح وضرب النواقيس فى الاسحار وألحان الصلوات ما يتصور معه الانسان انه فى الجنة.
وفى انطاكية شيخ يعرف بأبى نصر بن العطار قاضى القضاة فيها له يد فى العلوم مليح الحديث والافهام. وخرجت من انطاكية الى اللاذقية وهى مدينة يونانية لها ميناء وملعب وميدان للخيل مدور وبها بيت كان للاصنام [ص ٢٩٨] وهو اليوم كنيسة وكان فى أول الاسلام مسجدا وهى راكبة البحر وفيها قاض للمسلمين وجامع يصلون فيه وأذان فى اوقات الصلوات الخمس وعادة الروم اذا سمعوا الاذان ان يضربوا الناقوس وقاضى المسلمين الذى بها من قبل الروم ومن عجائب هذا البلد [2] المحتسب يجمع القحاب والغرباء المؤثرين للفساد من الروم فى حلقة وينادى على كل واحدة منهن وتتزايد الفسقة فيهن لليلتها تلك ويؤخذن الى الفنادق التى هى الخانات لسكن الغرباء بعد أن يأخذ كل واحد منهن [3] خاتما هو خاتم المطران حجة بيدها من تعقب الوالى لها فانه متى وجد خاطئا مع خاطئة بغير ختم المطران ألزمه جناية، وفى البلد من الحبساء والزهاد فى الصوامع والجبال كل فاضل يضيق الوقت عن ذكر احوالهم والالفاظ الصادرة

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(١) فى معجم البلدان لياقوت ج ٢ ص ٦٧٢ س ٦ : وله من الارتفاع كل سنة عدة قناطير من الذهب والفضة وقيل الخ

(٢) وفى الكتاب المذكور ج ٤ ص ٣٣٩ س ١٢ : واللاذقية مدينة قديمة سميت باسم بانيها ورأيت بها فى سنة ٤٤٦ (كذا) اعجوبة وذلك ان المحتسب الخ

(٣) وفى الكتاب المذكور ج ٤ ص ٣٣٩ س ١٦ : منهم من المحتسب

عن صفاء عقولهم وأذهانهم (١)

ومن مشاهير تصانيف ابن بطلان

(١) كتاب تقويم الصحة فى قوى الاغذية ودفع مضارها بجدول

(٢) « دعوة الاطباء مقامة ظريفة

(٣) رسالة اشتراء الرقيق ٥

ولما جرى لابن بطلان بمصر مع ابن رضوان ماجرى كتب اليه ابن بطلان رسالة يقطعه فيها ويذكر معايبه ويشير الى جهله بما يدعيه من علم علوم الاوائل

[قد أورد ابن القفطى ها هنا كثيرا مما فى رسالة ابن بطلان هذه ، وهى الرسالة الثالثة من الرسائل الخمس الآتية ، ثم قال]

١٠ [ص ٣١٤ س ٢١] وقد كان ابن بطلان هذا اكبر اصحاب ابى الفرج بن الطيب البغدادى وكان ابو الفرج يجله ويعظمه ويقدمه على تلاميذه ويكرمه ومنه استفاد وبعلمه تخرج وقد رأيت مثال خط ابى الفرج له على [ص ٣١٥] كتاب ثمار البرهان من شرحه وهو : قرأ على هذا الكتاب من أوله الى آخره الشيخ الجليل ابو الحسن المختار بن الحسن ادام الله عزه وفهمه غاية الفهم وكتب عبد الله

١٥ ابن الطيب . ولما دخل ابن بطلان الى حلب وتقدم عند المستولى عليها سأله رد امر النصارى فى عباداتهم اليه فولاه ذلك واخذ فى اقامة القوانين الدينية على اصولهم وشروطهم فكرهوه وكان بحلب رجل كاتب طبيب نصرانى يعرف بالحكيم أبى الخير بن شرارة وكان اذا اجتمع به وناظره فى أمر الطب يستطيل

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(١) فى معجم البلدان لياقوت ج ٤ ص ١٠٠٣ س ١٠ : قال ابن بطلان فى رسالته التى كتبها فى سنة ٤٤٢ ويافا بلد قحط والمولود فيها قل ان يعيش حتى لا يوجد فيها معلم للصبيان

عليه ابن بطلان بما عنده من التقاسيم المنطقية فينقطع فى يده واذا خرج عنه
حمله الغيظ على الوقيعة فيه ويحمل عليه نصارى حلب فلم يمكن ابن بطلان المقام
بين أظهرهم وخرج عنهم وكان ابن شرارة بعد ذلك يقول لم يكن اعتقاده مرضيا
ويذكر عن راهب انطاكى انه حكى له ان الموضع الذى فيه قبر ابن بطلان من
٥ الكنيسة التى كان قد استوطنها وجعلها معبداً لنفسه متى ما اوقد فيه سراج انطفأ
ويقول عنه أمثال هذه الاقوال وللحلبيين النصارى فيه هجو قالوه عند ما تولى
امرهم فى كنائسهم وتقرير صلواتهم وعباداتهم على أصولهم

٥ — ترجمة ابن بطلان

من كتاب عيون الانباء فى طبقات الاطباء لابن ابى أصيبعة

[ج ١ ص ٢٤١ س ٢١] ابن بطلان

هو ابو الحسن المختار بن الحسن بن عبدون بن سعدون بن بطلان نصرانى
من اهل بغداد وكان قد اشتغل على ابى الفرج عبد الله بن الطيب و تتلمذ له وأتقن ٥
عليه قراءة كثير من الكتب الحكمية وغيرها ولازم ايضا ابا الحسن ثابت بن
ابراهيم بن زهرون الحرانى الطبيب واشتغل عليه وانتفع به فى صناعة الطب
وفى مزاولة اعمالها . وكان ابن بطلان معاصرا لعلى بن رضوان الطبيب المصرى
وكانت بين ابن بطلان وابن رضوان المراسلات العجيبة والكتب البديعة
الغريبة ولم يكن احد منهم يؤلف كتابا ولا يبتدع رأيا الا ويرد الآخر عليه ١٠
ويسفه رأيه فيه وقد رأيت اشياء من المراسلات التى كانت فيما بينهم ووقائع
بعضهم فى بعض وسافر ابن بطلان من بغداد الى ديار مصر قصدا منه الى
مشاهدة على بن رضوان والاجتماع به وكان سفره من بغداد فى سنة تسع
وثلاثين واربعمائه ولما وصل فى طريقه الى حلب أقام بها مدة وأحسن اليه معز
الدولة ثمال بن صالح بها وأكرمه اكراما كثيراً وكان دخوله الفسطاط فى مستهل ١٥
جمادى الآخرة من سنة احدى واربعين واربعمائة وأقام بها ثلاث سنين وذلك
فى دولة المستنصر بالله من [ص ٢٤٢] الخلفاء المصريين وجرت بين ابن
بطلان وابن رضوان وقائع كثيرة فى ذلك الوقت ونوادر ظريفة لا تخلو من
فائدة وقد تضمن كثيرا من هذه الأشياء كتاب الفه ابن بطلان بعد خروجه

من ديار مصر واجتماعه بابن رضوان ولابن رضوان كتاب فى الرد عليه . وكان ابن بطلان أعذب الفاظاً واكثر ظرفا وأميز فى الادب وما يتعلق به ومما يدل على ذلك ما ذكره فى رسالته التى وسمها بدعوة الاطباء وكان ابن رضوان أطب وأعلم بالعلوم الحكمية وما يتعلق بها . وكان ابن رضوان اسود اللون ولم يكن بالجميل الصورة وله مقالة فى ذلك يرد فيها على من عيره بقبح الخلقة وقد بين فيها بزعمه ان الطبيب الفاضل لا يجب ان يكون وجهه جميلا وكان ابن بطلان اكثر ما يقع فى على بن رضوان من هذا القبيل وأشباهه ولذلك يقول فيه فى الرسالة التى وسمها بوقعة الاطباء (الطويل)

فلما تبدى للقوابل وجهه نكصن على أعقابهن من الندم
وقلن وأخفين الكلام تسترا ألا ليتنا كنا تركناه فى الرحم ،

وكان يلقبه بتمساح الجن .

وسافر ابن بطلان من ديار مصر الى القسطنطينية وأقام بها سنة وعرضت فى زمنه اوباء كثيرة . ونقلت من خطه فيما ذكره من ذلك ما هذا مثاله : قال ومن مشاهير الأوباء فى زماننا الذى عرض عند طلوع الكوكب الاثارى فى الجوزاء من سنة ست واربعين واربعمائة فان فى تلك السنة دفن فى كنيسة لوقا بعد ان امتلأت جميع المدافن التى فى القسطنطينية اربعة عشرالف نسمة فى الخريف ، فلما توسط الصيف فى سنة سبع واربعين لم يوف النيل فمات فى الفسطاط والشأم اكثر اهلها وجميع الغرباء الا من شاء الله ، وانتقل الوباء الى العراق فأتى على اكثر اهله واستولى عليه الخراب بطروق العساكر المتعادية واتصل ذلك بها الى سنة اربع وخمسين واربعمائة ، وعرض للناس فى أكثر البلاد قروح سوداوية وأورام الطحال وتغير ترتيب نوائب الحميات واضطرب نظام البحارين فاختلف علم القضاء فى تقدمة المعرفة . وقال ايضا بعد ذلك :

ولأن هذا الكوكب الاثارى طلع فى برج الجــوزاء وهو طالع مصر أوقع
الوباء فى الفسطاط بنقصان النيـل فى وقت ظهوره فى سنة خمس واربعين
واربعمائة وصح انذار بطلميوس القائل الويل لاهل مصر اذا طلع أحد
ذوات الذوائب وانجهم فى الجوزاء ، ولمـا نزل زحل برج السرطان تـكامل
خراب العراق والموصل و الجزيرة واختلت ديار بكر وربيعة ومضر وفارس ٥
ولرمان وبلاد المغرب واليمن والفسطـاط والشأم واضطربت احوال ملوك
الارض وكثرت الحروب والغلاء وصح حكم بطلميوس فى قوله ان زحل والمريخ
متى اقترنا فى سرطان زلزل العالم

ونقلت ايضا من خط ابن بطلان فيما ذكره من الاوباء العظيمة العارضة للعلم
بفقد العلماء فى زمانه : قال ما عرض فى مدة بضع عشرة سنة بوفاة الأجل المرتضى ١٠
والشيخ أبى الحسين البصرى والفقيه أبى الحسن القدورى وأقضى القضاة الماوردى
وابى الطيب الطبرى على جماعتهم رضوان الله ، ومن أصحاب علوم القدماء ابو على
ابن الهيثم وابو سعيد اليمامى وأبو على بن السمح وصاعد الطبيب [ص ٢٤٣]
وابو الفرج عبد الله بن الطيب ، ومن متقدمى علوم الادب والـكتابة على
ابن عيسى الربعى وابو الفتح النيسابورى ومهيار الشاعر وأبو العلاء بن نزيك ١٥
وابو على بن موصلايا والرئيس ابو الحسن الصابىء وابو العلاء المعرى ، فانطفأت
سرج العلم وبقيت العقول بعدهم فى الظلمة

أقول ولابن بطلان اشعار كثيرة ونوادر ظريفة وقد ضمن منها اشياء
فى رسالته التى وسمها بدعوة الاطباء وفى غيرها من كتبه . وتوفى ابن بطلان
ولم يتخذ امرأة ولا خلف ولداً ولذلك يقول من ابيات (الطويل) ٢٠

ولا أحــد ان مت يبـكى لميتتى   سوى مجلسى فى الطب والـكتب باكيا

ولابن بطلان من الـكتب :

(١) كناش الاديرة والرهبان

(٢) كتاب شراء العبيد وتقليب المماليك والجوارى

(٣) كتاب تقويم الصحة

(٤) مقالة فى شرب الدواء المسهل

٥ (٥) مقالة فى كيفية دخول الغذاء فى البدن وهضمه وخروج فضلاته وسقى الادوية المسهلة وتركيبها

(٦) مقالة الى على بن رضوان عند وروده الفسطاط فى سنه احدى واربعين واربعمائة جواباً عما كتبه اليه

(٧) مقالة فى علة نقل الأطباء المهرة تدبير اكثر الأمراض التى كانت تعالج قديما بالادوية الحارة الى التدبير المبرد كالفالج واللقوة ١٠ والاسترخاء وغيرها ومخالفتهم فى ذلك لمسطور القدماء فى الكنانيش والاقراباذينات وتدرجهم فى ذلك بالعراق وما والاها على استقبال سنة سبع وسبعين وثلاثمائة والى سنة خمس وخمسين واربعمائة ، وصنف ابن بطلان هذه المقالة بانطاكية فى سنة خمس وخمسين واربعمائة وكان فى ذلك الوقت قد اهل لبناء بيمارستان انطاكية ١٥

(٨) مقالة فى الاعتراض على من قال ان الفرخ احر من الفروج بطريق منطقية ألفها بالقاهرة فى سنة احدى واربعين واربعمائة

(٩) كتاب المدخل الى الطب

(١٠) كتاب دعوة الاطباء الفها للامير نصير الدولة ابى نصر احمد ابن مروان ، ونقلت من خط ابن بطلان وهو يقول فى آخرها : ٢٠ فرغت من نسخها انا مصنفها يوانيس الطبيب المعروف بالمختار بن الحسن بن عبدون بدير الملك المتيح قسطنطين بظاهر القسطنطينية

فى آخر ايلول من سنة خمس وستين وثلاثمائة والف ، هذا قوله
ويكون ذلك بالتاريخ الاسلامى من سنة خمسين واربعمائة

(١١) كتاب وقعة الأطباء

(١٢) كتاب دعوة القسوس

(١٣) مقالة فى مداواة صبي عرضت له حصاة

٦ — ترجمة اليبرودى

من كتاب عيون الانباء فى طبقات الاطباء لابن ابى أصيبعة

[ج ٢ ص ١٤٠ س ١٥] اليبرودى

هو ابو الفرج جورجس بن يوحنا بن سهل بن ابراهيم من النصارى
اليعاقبة وكان فاضلا فى صناعة الطب عالما باصولها وفروعها معدودا من جملة ٥
الاكابر من أهلها والمتميزين من أربابها دائم الاشتغال محبا للعلم مؤثرا للفضيلة.
حدثنى شرف الدين بن عنين رحمه الله ان اليبرودى كان لا يخل بالاشتغال
ولا يسأم منه ؛ قال وكان ابدا فى سائر أوقاته لا يوجد الا ومعه كتاب ينظر فيه.
وحدثنى أحد النصارى بدمشق وهو السنى البعلبكى الطبيب قال كان مولد
اليبرودى ومنشؤه فى صدر عمره بيبرود وهى ضيعة كبيرة قريبة من صيدنايا ١٠
وبها نصارى كثير وكان اليبرودى بها كسائر اهلها النصارى من معاناتهم
الفلاحة وما يصنعه الفلاحون وكان ايضا يجمع الشيح من نواحى دمشق
القريبة من جهته ويحمله على دابة ويأتى به الى داخل دمشق يبيعه للذين يقدونه
فى الافران وغيرها وانه لما كان فى بعض المرات وقد عبر من باب توما
بدمشق ومعه حمل شيح رأى شيخا من المتطببين وهو يفصد انسانا قد عرض ١٥
له رعاف شديد من الناحية المسامتة للموضع الذى ينبعث منه الدم فوقف ينظر
اليه ثم قال له لم تفصد هذا ودمه يجرى من انفه باكثر مما يحتاج اليه بالفصد فعرفه
ان ذلك انما يفعله لينقطع الدم الذى ينبعث من انفه لكونه يجتذبه الى مسامتة
الجهة التى ينبعث منها فقال له اذا كان الامر على ما تقول فاننا فى مواضعنا

قد اعتدنا انه متى كان نهر جار وأردنا ان نقطع الماء عنه فاننا نجعل له مسيلا الى ناحية أخرى غير مسامتة له فينقطع من ذلك الموضع ويعود الى الموضع الآخر فانت لم لا تفعل هكذا ايضا وتفصده من الناحية الاخرى ففعل ذلك وانقطع الرعاف عن الرجل وان ذلك الطبيب لما رأى من اليبرودى حسن نظر فيما سأل عنه قال له لو انك تشتغل بصناعة الطب جاء منك طبيب جيد فمال اليبرودى الى قوله وتاقت نفسه الى العلم وبقى [ص ١٤١] مترددا الى الشيخ فى أوقات وهو يعرفه ويريه اشياء من المداواة ثم انه ترك يبرود وما كان يعانيه وأقام بدمشق يتعلم صناعة الطب ولما تبصر فى أشياء منها وصارت له معرفة بالقوانين العلمية وحاول مداواة المرضى ورأى اختلاف الامراض وأسبابها وعلاماتها وتفنن معالجاتها وسأل عمن هو امام فى وقته بمعرفة صناعة الطب والمعرفة بها جيدا فذكروا له ان ببغداد ابا الفرج بن الطيب كاتب الجاثليق وانه فيلسوف متفنن وله خبرة وفضل فى صناعة الطب وفى غيرها من الصنائع الحكمية فتأهب للسفر وأخذ سوارا كان لامه لنفقته وتوجه الى بغداد وصار ينفق عليه ما يقوم بأوده ويشتغل على ابن الطيب الى ان مهر فى صناعة الطب ، وصارت له مباحثات جيدة ودراية فاضلة فى هذه الصناعة واشتغل ايضا بشىء من المنطق والعلوم الحكمية ثم عاد الى دمشق واقام بها

ونقلت ايضا قريبا من هذه الحكاية المتقدمة وان كانت الرواية بينهما مختلفة عن شيخنا الحكيم مهذب الدين عبد الرحيم بن على قال حدثنى موفق الدين اسعد بن الياس بن المطران قال حدثنى أبى قال حدثنى ابو الفرج بن الحديد قال حدثنى ابو الكرم الطيب عن أبيه ابى الرجاء عن جده قال كان بدمشق فاصد يقال له ابو الخير ولم يكن من المهرة فكان من أمره ان فصد شابا فوقعت الفصدة فى الشريان فتحير وتبلد وطلب قطع الدم فلم يقدر على ذلك فاجتمع الناس عليه

وفى اثناء ذلك اطلع صبى عليه فقال يا عماه افصده فى اليد الاخرى فاستراح
الى كلامه وفصده من يده الاخرى فقال سد الفصد الاول فشده ووضع لازوقا
كان عنده عليه وسده فوقف جرية الدم ثم مسك الفصدة الاخرى فوقف الدم
وانقطع الجميع ووجد الصبى يسوق دابة عليها حمل شيح فتشبث به وقال من
٥ أين لك ما امرتنى به قال أنا أرى أبى فى وقت سقى الكرم اذا انفتح شق من
النهر وخرج الماء منه بخده لا يقدر على إمساكه دون أن يفتح فتحا آخر ينقص به
الماء الاول الواصل الى ذلك الشق ثم يسده بعد ذلك قال فمنعه الجرائحى من بيع
الشيح واقتطعه وعلمه الطب فكان منه اليبرودى من مشاهير الاطباء الفضلاء

أقول وكانت لليبرودى مراسلات الى ابن رضوان بمصر والى غيره من
١٠ الاطباء المصريين وله مسائل عدة اليهم طبية ومباحثات دقيقة وكتب بخطه شيئا
كثيرا جدا من كتب الطب ولا سيما من كتب جالينوس وشروحها وجوامعها

وحدثنى ايضا السنى البعلبكى ان اليبرودى عبر يوما فى سوق جيرون
بدمشق فرأى انسانا وقد بايع على ان يأكل ارطالا من لحم فرس مسلوق مما يباع
فى الاسواق فلما رآه وقد امعن فى اكله باكثر مما يحتمله قواه ثم شرب بعده
١٥ فقاعا كثيرا وماء بثلج واضطربت احواله تفرس فيه انه لا بد ان يغمى عليه
وان يبقى فى حالة يكون الموت أقرب اليه ان لم يتلاحق فتبعه الى المنزل الذى
له واستشرف الى ماذا يؤول امره فلم يكن الا ايسر وقت واهله يصيحون
ويضجون بالبكاء ويزعمون انه قد مات فاتى اليهم وقال أنا ابرئه وما عليه بأس
ثم انه اخذه الى حمام قريب من ذلك الموضع وفتح فكيه كرها بشىء ثم سكب
٢٠ فى حلقه ماء مغلى وقد اضاف اليه ادوية مقيئة ولا فى الغاية وقيأه برفق ثم عالجه
وتلطف فى مداواته حتى أفاق وعاد الى صحته فتعجب [ص ١٤٢] الناس منه
فى ذلك الفعل وحسن تأتيه الى مداواة ذلك الرجل واشتهرت عنه هذه القضية

وتميز بعدها . اقول وهذه الحكاية التى قصد اليبرودى الى أن يتتبع احوال ذلك الرجل فيها ويشاهد ما يكون من امره ان يكون عنده من ذلك معرفة بالاعراض التى تحدث له وان ينقذه ايضا مما وقع فيه ان أمكنه معاجلته ومعالجته

ومثل ذلك ايضا ما حكاه ابو جعفر احمد بن محمد بن ابى الاشعث رحمه الله فى كتاب الغاذى والمغتذى وذلك انه قال ان انسانا رأيته يوما وقد بايع ان يأكل جزرا قدره بحد ما فحضرت أكله لأرى ما يكون من حاله لا رغبة منى لمجالسة من هذه حاله ولا لان لى بذلك عادة ولله الحمد بل لأرى ايراد الغذاء على المعدة قسراً الى ماذا يؤول هذا الفعل فرايته يأكل من حائط ليرى من حوله ويضاحكهم حتى اذا مر على الاكثر مما كان بين يديه رأيت الجزر ممضوغا قد خرج من حلقه ملتفا متحبلا متعجنا بريقه وقد جحظت عيناه وانقطع نفسه واحمر لونه ودرت وداجاه وعروق رأسه واربد وكمد وجهه وعرض له من التهوع أكثر مما عرض له من القذف حتى رمى من ذلك الذى أكله شيئاً كثيراً فزكنت ان انقطاع نفسه لدفع المعدة حجابه الى نحو الفم ومنعها اياه من الرجوع الى الانبساط للتنفس واما ما عرض للونه من الاحمرار ودرور وداجيه وعروقه فزكنت انه لاقبال الطبيعة نحو رأسه كما يعرض لمن شدت يداه للفصد ان تقبل الطبيعة نحو الجهة التى استنهضت نحوها واما ما عرض بعد ذلك لوجهه من الاربداد والكمودة فزكنت ايضا انه لسوء مزاج قلبه وانه لو لم يخرج ما خرج ودافعت المعدة حجابه هذه المدافعة التى قد عاقته البتة عن التنفس عرض له الموت بالاختناق كما قد رأينا ذلك فى عدد كثير ماتوا بعقب القذف واما ما عرض له من التهوع اكثر مما عرض له من القذف فزكنت من ذلك ان التهوع لشدة اضطراب المعدة . قال ابن ابى الاشعث بعد ذلك ان الغذاء اذا حصل فى المعدة وهو كثير الكمية تمددت تمدداً يبسط سائر غضونها كما رأيت ذلك

فى سبع شرحته حيا بحضرة الامير الغضنفروقد استصغر بعض الحاضرين معدته
فتقدمت بصب الماء فى فيه فما زلنا نصب فى حلقه دورقا بعد آخر حتى عددنا من
الدورق عددا كان مقدار ما حوت نحو اربعين رطلا ماءفنظرت اذ ذاك الى الطبقة
الداخلة وقد امتدت حتى صار لها سطح مستوليس بدون استواء الخارج ثم شققتها
٥ فلما اجتمعت عند خروج الماء منها عاد غضون الداخلة والبواب يشهد الله فى جميع
ذلك لا يرسل نفسه

وحدثنى الشيخ مهذب الدين عبد الرحيم بن على قال حدثنى موفق الدين اسعد
ابن الياس بن المطران قال حدثنى ابى عن خالى ابى الفرج بن حيان قال حدثنى ابو
الكرم الطبيب قال حدثنى ابى عن ابيه قال كنت يوما أساير الشيخ ابا الفرج
١٠ اليبرودى اذ اعترضه رجل فقال ياسيدى كنت فى صناعتى هذه فى الحمام وحلقت
رأسى وأجد الآن فى وجهى كله انتفاخاً وحرارة عظيمة قال فنظرنا الى وجهه
فوجدناه يربو وينتفخ وتزيد حمرته بغير توقف ولا تدريج قال فأمره ان يكشف
رأسه ويلقى به الماء الجارى من قناة كانت بين يديه وكان الزمان اذ ذاك صميم
الشتاء وغاية البرد ثم لم يزل واقفا حتى بلغ ما أراد مما أمر به ثم امر الرجل
١٥ بالانصراف وأشار عليه بالاوفق له وهو تلطيف التدبير [ص ١٤٣] واستعمال
النقوع الحامض مبردا وقطع الزفر قال فامتنع ان يحدث له ما شرا

وقال الطرشوشى فى كتاب سراج الملوك حدثنى بعض الشأميين ان رجلا
خبازاً بينما هو يخبز فى تنوره بمدينة دمشق اذ عبر عليه رجل يبيع المشمش فاشترى
منه وجعل يأكله بالخبز الحار فلما فرغ سقط مغشيا عليه فنظروا فاذا هو ميت
٢٠ فجعلوا يتربصون به ويحماون له الأطباء فيلتمسون دلائله ومواضع الحياة منه فلم
يجدوا فقضوا بموته فغسل وكفن وصلى عليه وخرجوا به الى الجبانة فبينما هم فى
الطريق على باب البلد فاستقبلهم رجل طبيب يقال له اليبرودى وكان طبيبا ماهرا

حاذقا عارفا بالطب فسمع الناس يلهجون بقضيته فاستخبرهم عن ذلك فقصوا عليه قصته فقال حطوه حتى أراه فحطوه فجعل يقلبه وينظر فى أمارات الحياة التى يعرفها ثم فتح فمه وسقاه شيئاً أو قال حقنه فاندفع ما هنالك فسيل فاذا الرجل قد فتح عينيه وتكلم وعاد كما كان الى حانوته

وتوفى اليبرودى بدمشق فى سنة (١) واربعمائة ودفن فى كنيسة اليعاقبة بها عند باب توما . حدثنى الشيخ مهذب الدين عبد الرحيم بن على عن موفق الدين اسعد بن الياس بن المطران قال حدثنى خالى قال حدثنى ابى قال حدثنى عبد الله بن رجاء بن يعقوب قال حدثنى ابن الكتانى وهو اذ ذاك متصرف فى اعمال السلطان يومئذ بدمشق قال بلغنى ان أبا الفرج جورجس بن يوحنا اليبرودى لما توفى ظهر فى تركته ثلاثمائة مقطع رومى مجروم(٢) لباب واحد وخمسمائة قطعة فضة الطفها ثلثمائة درهم قال موفق الدين بن المطران وليس ذلك بكثير لان الشخص متى تحققت اعماله وصفت نيته وطلب الحق وعامل الصحيح واجتهد فى معرفة صناعته كان حقا على الله تعالى ان يرزقه ومتى كان بالضد عاش فقيرا ومات بائسا

ولليبرودى من الكتب مقالة فى ان الفرخ أبرد من الفروج نقض كلام ابن الموفقى فى مسائل ترددت فيما بينهم فى النبض

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(١) بياض بالاصل (٢) فى الاصل : مجوم

الرسائل الخمس

— ١ —

[ص ١٥٠ ظ م ، ص ٢ ت]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه [١] نستعين رب يسر يا كريم [١]

مقالة ابى الحسن المختار بن الحسن بن عبدون بن سعدون [٢]

في ان الفروج احر من الفرخ

قال غرضنا فى هذه المقالة مناقضة من قال أن الفرخ احر من الفروج بمقاييس منطقية مركبة من مقدمات صادقة ينتج [٣] منها أن الفروج احر من الفرخ وهذا ضد ما يراه الاطباء اوردناها على جهة الشعبذة التى يزينها خفة اللعب وسرعة الدك فالعالم يعرف موضع الشبهة اللازمة والغبى يظن أن [٤] جميعها محال [٥] ودلسة . ومنافعها ثلاث [٦] : بقياس المتعلمين تطريقاً لهم ورياضة فانه إن [٧] كان الجسم يقوى بالرياضة فأحرى ذلك بالقوة العقلية ، وبقياس العلماء أن يظهر فضلهم فى حلول الشكوك الغامضة اذ كان ترخيص [٨] العلماء للآراء الماحلة يثبت لنا معرفتهم بالمذاهب الصحيحة ، وبقياس المذعنين تبكيتا لهم وهجنة فانه من عجز عن هذه

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(١) — (١) ناقص من ت

(٢) زائد فى م : وهو المصنف لدعوة الاطبا المذكور فى هذا الكتاب قبل هذه

(٣) ت : وينتج (٤) ناقص من ت (٥) ت : محالا

(٦) م : ثلاثه ، ت : ثلثة (٧) ت : اذا (٨) ت : برحض (كذا)

المسألة الحقيرة والحق ناصره فيها فهو عما سواها اشد عجزاً لا سيما إن قعدت به القوة الفكرية ، وسميتها الشعبذة العقلية لانها تجرى فى خدعة العقول الضعيفة مجرى شعبذة الطرقيين لحواس العامة وجعلت [١] اقسامها اربعة :

١ — فى ذكر السبب الموجب لتصنيف هذه المقالة

٢ — ايراد [٢] حجة من قال ان الفرخ احر من الفروج ونقضها

٣ — فى تقديم مقدمات لا ريب فيها عند العلماء يبين منها [ص ٣ ت] مقاييس ينتج منها [٣]ضد ما قاله [٤] الاطباء وذكر شكوك واعتراضات تجرى فى عرض هذا [٥] الـكلام

٤ — ايراد مسائل تتعلق بالبيض والحضان والفراريج ، فهذه اقسامها [٦] . وما لأحد أن يرد قياساتنا [٧] كيف اتفق بل يضع قياساً قياساً ويظهر فيه مواضع الشبه اللازمة متصوراً انه من ضعف عن نفى الشبه الباطلة فهو عن اثبات الحق اشد ضعفاً ثم يجيب عن المسائل بجواب يطبق [٨] المفاصل يزن فيه الجواب بمثقال السؤال من غير زيادة ولا نقصان ونحن نستعين بالله من [٩] زمان يكون العلم فيه احد [١٠] اسباب [١٠] الحرمان ونستعيذ من بلد لا يتأتى للعالم أن يكون والجاهل سيان

الباب الاول فى سبب [١١] تصنيف هذه المقالة

حكى بعض الاطباء فى دار الوزارة بالقاهرة المعزية عن اليبرودى الطبيب انه

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(١) ناقص من ت (٢) ت : فى ايراد (٣) ناقص من ت (٤) ت : قالته
(٥) ناقص من ت (٦) ت : اقسام هذه المقالة (٧) ت : مقاييسنا
(٨) م : يطابق ، وفى الهامش : يطبق (٩) ت : على
(١٠) — (١٠) م : سبب ، وفى الهامش : احد اسباب (١١) ت : السبب الموجب

عايا اطباء المصريين بمسألة الزمـــهم بها [١] أن يكون الفروج احر من الفرخ لسرعة نهضته والفرخ ابرد لبطء حركته ؛ فقلت له هذا سؤال مشهور وجوابه مسطور وانما المسألة الحسنة البديعة : لم صار كل بيض يتناوب على حضانه الذكر والانثى يخرج الفرخ منه ضعيفاً يحتاج الى الزق كالحمام
٥ والعصافير ، وكل بيض تنفرد الانثى بحضانه [٢] وهى أضعف الزوجين وأبرد بقياس الانثى من الحمام وليس لها نائب عند طلب الغذاء يكون [٣] فرخها [٣] مستغنياً [٤] عن [٥] الزق باللقط [٥] كالدجاج والحجل والدراج ، فسألنى عن الجواب فأعلمته أن هذه مسألة طبيعية يتعذر فهمها على من لم يرتض [٦] بالعلوم المنطقية فلما بلح فى العلم اخلد الى التبجح بالعمل وهو لا يعلم [ص ٤ ت]
١٠ أن الطبيب بما هو عمال مستجير بالطبيعة فى شفاء الامراض [٧] وبما هو علام لا مجيز له فى المسارعة الى استخراج اوساط المقاييس الا ذكاء فطنته لان الذكاء كما علمنا صاحب المنطق هو المسارعة الى استخراج الاوساط ؛ فانصرف مفحماً . ثم بلغنى عنه المسكين تخرص [٨] استدللت به على أنه لم يعلم أن ارسطو يقول « اياك والكذب فان الكذاب لا يكذب الا من مهانة نفسه وسخافة
١٥ رأيه وجهالة منه بعواقب مضرة الكذب عليه فان اول ما ينزل بالكذاب اذا عرف أن يقول فلا يصدق ثم يصير فى البعد عن البغية بمنزلة من رام الشرق فتوجه نحو الغرب » وقد قال اوميرس « ليس شىء ادنى من الكذب ولاخير فى المرء اذا كان يكذب » . ثم ذهبت استطرف حال اليبرودى لما اورد

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(١) ت : فيها (٢) م : بحضانه (٣) — (٣) ناقص من ت
(٤) م ت : مسغن (٥) — (٥) ت : باللقط عن الزق
(٦) م ت : يرتاض (٧) ت : المرض (٨) م ت : تحرصا

هذه المسألة كيف لم يعضدها ببيان ولا رمى فى نصرتها بسهام . ونحن نأخذ فى ذكر الرأى الحق وننقضه **لا** على انا نعتقده لكن على جهة اختبار العقول الصافية فى حلول الشكوك الغامضة

الباب الثانى فى حجة من قال أن الفرخ احر من الفروج ونقضها
..... [من ص ١٥١ و م]

والبيان الثالث [1] [ص ١٠ ت] الديك يقبل التأديب بلطف قريحته ويعرف ما مضى من الليل والنهار بجودة فطنته فيصيح عند كون الشمس فى الطالع والغارب والرابع والعاشر وما بينهما ولا [2] يتأتى للحمام شىء من ذلك [3] فالديك اذا أحد فطنة وألطف جوهراً وأذكى قريحة وهذه الصفات تكون من افعال [4] الحار فالديك [ص ١٥١ ظ م] احر من الحمام ، فان قيل إن الحمام الهدى اذكى لسفره وسرعة عوده كان الجواب أن الطبيعة لو منحت الديك خفة الجناح وصغر الجثة لطاح فى البلاد اكثر وعاد اسرع .....

والبيان التاسع من الآراء المشهورة [ص ١٣ ت] وأجريناه بعد البراهين على عادة القدماء فان ارسطوطاليس [5] لما بين شرف الطبع الخامس بالبراهين الصحيحة بين ذلك ايضاً من الآراء المشهورة بمد الناس ايديهم الى السماء وجالينوس لما بين [6] أن العقل فى الدماغ بالبراهين الصحيحة ارى أن ذلك مشهور من قول العامة فى الاحمق انه بلا دماغ : والبيان من الآراء المشهورة يجرى هكذا : نرى الديك معظما فى شريعة الفلاسفة حتى أن سقراط وصى قبل موته أن يذبح عبد

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(١) زائد فى ت : يجرى هكذا (٢) ت : وما (٣) ت : هذا
(٤) م : اعتدال ، وعلى الهامش : افعال ، ت : اعتدال
(٥) ت : ارسطوطالس ، ب : ارسطوطاليس (٦) ت : يبين ، ب : بين

فى هيكل افلون ديكا فهو مقرب فى الهياكل للكواكب معظم فى الشرائع معبود عند المانوية وما ذلك الا لفضيلة فيه احوجت [١] الناس الى عبادته ، والفراخ محرمة فى مذهب الفلاسفة الحرنانية اما لأوامر شرعية أو لما فيها من المضرة العائدة على الطبيعة الانسانية ؛ فهذا مقنع فى نصرة هذه الشبهة

٥ فلنورد الآن جميع ما مضى على جهة النتيجة بزيادة بيانات فنقول [٢] انه قد بان أن الديك اكثر سفاداً وبيضاً واكثر فراخاً واعظم غضباً وأشد غيرة واسخى بالغذاء واقبل ادباً واعرف بسيران الشمس فى السماء وخصاه مولد للمنى ومرقه مسهل للقولنج البلغمى وبه تختبر السموم والادوية والموميا [٣] فى جبر العظام المكسورة وهو مستغن باللقط عن الزق ويأكل

١٠ اللحم عن العشب والحب وبفضل حرارته لا يثبت فى مكان ويقنع بالانثى فى الحضان ولو انضاف اليها [٤] الذكر لاحترق [٥] الفروج بفضل الحرارة واذا فقس عن البيضة كان اكثر زغباً وهو انتن فضلة واشدها صفرة وفى صفرتها ميل الى الكمودة [ص ١٤ ت] وهو معظم فى شريعة الفلاسفة ، وذكر الحمام بضد [٦] هذه الخصال كلها [٧] ، وقد بان أن تلك الاسباب

١٥ اوجبتها له [٨] كثرة الحرارة فله على ذكر الحمام فضل المزية وبان ايضاً بالاصل الثالث أن نسبة الديك الى ذكر الحمام كنسبة الفروج الى الفرخ ، واذا بان أن الديك احر من ذكر الحمام فالفروج احر من الفرخ ؛ وهو ما اوردنا فى البيان . . . .
[من ص ١٥٢ ظ م] ومن بعد ايرادنا رأى القائلين بأن الفرخ احر من

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(١) ت : اخرجت (٢) ت : ونقول (٣) ت : والمومياى
(٤) م : اليه (٥) ت : لاحرق (٦) ت : على اضداد
(٧) ت : المعددة (٨) ت : للديك

الفروج ونقضه وتكلفنا عن اليبرودى قياسات صادقة فى نصرة ضده وجمعنا ذلك على جهة النتيجة ثم حللنا الشكوك الطارئة والاعتراضات اللازمة واظهرنا الشبه الداخلة على القدماء فى نظائر هذه الاشياء نأخذ فى التنزه فى رياض العقل والاجتناء لثمار العلم ونعتمد كشف اسرار الطبيعة فى البيض ولوازمه باثبات مسائل مشوقة نعددها اولا ثم نجيب عنها بمشيئة الله اذا اظهر الاطباء وجه الشبه فى هذه [ص ٢٠ ت] القياسات بطريق صناعية مبلغ ما اثبتناه من المسائل المتعلقة بالحيوان البياض ومن سؤالات تتعلق بخواص البيض ومن مطالب تختص بحضان المحضن له ومن مباحث فى الفراريج والفراخ الموجودة عنه على ما بين وشرح من احوال ذلك وهى عن اربعة اشياء احدى (١) وثمانون مسألة . . . . .

[من ص ١٥٣ ظ م ؛ ومن ص ٢٩ ت] قد أوردنا فى مقالتنا هذه ما فيه للمتعلمين فائدة وللمعلمين رياضة ولمن الجأنا الى تصنيفها تبكيت(٢) وهجنة والله ولى المكافأة لمن ادعى انه معين للطبيعة وهو معين عليها يوم يجلس خالقها لأخذ حقوق المرضى من جهال الاطباء وتعيد الملائكة الكتبة حال كل مريض مشروحة وتشهد القوارير بالغلط وتعرف الاطباء بالذى فرط ويل يومئذ للمدهشمين الذين كانوا عن سلاحهم ساهين وعلى الجهل مقبلين وعن العلم معرضين (٣) « يوم لا ينفع مال ولابنون الا من اتى الله » (٤) بعلم يقين

تمت المقالة (٥) ان الفروج احر من الفرخ تصنيف ابى الحسن المختار ابن الحسن بن عبدون بن سعدون بن بطلان ولله الحمد واهب العقل ومانح الفضل حمدا كما هو له اهل

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(١) م ت : احد (٢) م : تنكينا ، ت : تنكيا ، ب : تبكيتا (٣) م : مرضين
(٤) سورة الشعراء [٢٦] ، ٨٨ و ٨٩ (٥) زائد فى ت : فى

[من ص ١٥٣ ظ م] مقالة الشيخ ابى الحسن على بن رضوان

في التنبيه على ما في كلام المختار بن الحسن بن عبدون البغدادي من الاغاليط[1]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

٥ قال على بن رضوان قرأت مقالة الشيخ اطال الله بقاءه التى انفذها الى بخطه فأذن لى ان اجيب عنها فعرفته انى مشغول عن هذا فألح على فصرت كارها للجواب فانه ان كان يغيظه ويغضبه فلا يلومنى ويلوم نفسه ان كان الخطأ والغلط من قبله ، وان كان من قبلى فيشيعه عنى ويشهره فى الناس . وانا افتتح الجواب بما عنون به مقالته فانه كتب بخطه « مقاله المختار بن الحسن بن عبدون الطبيب النصرانى

١٠ البغدادى فى ان الفروج احر من الفرخ » وقد بين جالينوس ان الطبيب فيلسوف كامل وانه من قصر عن ذلك فهو متطبب لا طبيب والفيلسوف الكامل هو الذى قد حصل له العلم التعليمى والطبيعى والالهى والمنطقى فالطبيب هو الذى حصل كل واحد من هذه على الكمال اى بلغ فيه الكمال وما احسب الشيخ اصلحه الله تعالى له نصيب فى شىء من هذه سوى الدعوى وكلامه فى هذه المقالة يفضحه فيما

١٥ يدعيه منها والذى سمعته يدعيه المنطق والطب فقط فهب سلمنا له المنطق والطب والعلم الطبيعى زيادة على ذلك فما بلغ بهذه العلوم الى ان يلقب نفسه بالطبيب وانما

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(١) زائد فى م : التى صنفها فى هذه الرساله المقدمه فى الفروج والفرخ

يبلغ ذلك اذا سلم له التفنن بالكمال فى سائر علوم القول [١] والعمل كما بين جالينوس فلذلك يظهر انه قد غلط فى العنوان . وايضا فانه معروف غير مجهول فما الحاجة الى ان ينسب نفسه الى النصرانية والى بلده اتراه ظن انه مجهول المذهب والبلد فكان يكفيه ان يكتب « مقالة فلان بن فلان المتطبب » ولا يحوج احدا ينتقد عليه كلامه ، فقد بان بما ذكرت غلطه فى العنوان ولنأخذ فى نقض كلامه الذى قد زعم فيه لما أمعن فى مقالته أنه قصد به اختبار [٢] العقول الصافية وحل الشكوك الغامضة . قال حكى بحضرة جماعة من الرؤساء عن اليبرودى المتطبب انه عايا أطباء المصريين جميعا بمسألة ألزم فيها أن يكون الفرخ أبرد من الفروج لابطاء حركته والفروج أحر من الفرخ لسرعة نهضته . أقول قد رأيت اليبرودى واجتمعت به وكان لى صديقاً الى أن مات وانا واحد من المصريين وما سألنى قط عن هذه المسألة هذا مع كثرة ما ذاكرنى به من العلم وهنا أطباء كثير بمصر وبالقاهرة ما لقيهم اليبرودى فضلا عن أن يكون عاياهم فدعوى الحاكى أنه عايا جميعهم كذب ، قال وقد كان أخبرنى بذلك شيخ من الاطباء وذكر لى أنه عمل فى ذلك مقالة فقلت ان هذا سؤال مشهور وجوابه مسطور . أقول هذا الكلام يدل على انه قد سلم ان ما حكاه الحاكى سؤال مشهور وجوابه مسطور ومن سلم ذلك فقد أبان عن نفسه ان لا معرفة له وافصح عن تقصيره وعجزه عن علوم القول [٣] وعرف بذلك عنه انه لا خبرة له بالمنطق وذلك ان السؤال مجموع نقيضين معا ارتبطا بحرف السؤال . فلو عبر هكذا : هل الفرخ ابرد من الفروج او لا يسلم اليه السؤال فاذا ما كان عبر بذلك فقد ابان عن نفسه ا[نه]

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(١) م : القوم (٢) م : اعتبار
(٣) م : القوم

لم يعلم انه ليس بسؤال وانه ظن ان ما ليس بسؤال هو سؤال مشهور وجوابه مسطور . . . . .

ولذلك يفسد السؤال اللهم الا ان يراد فيه قياسهما اما الى بدن الانسان واما الى [ص ١٥٤ و م] شيء آخر ثالث ليصح السؤال فاذا قد اسقط من

٥ الكلام ذلك فقد سقطت الحكاية سوفسطائية (أى تمويه ودهشة بالباطل) لكنه ظن انها سؤال مشهور وان جوابه مسطور وقد كنت احب ان يعرف فى كلامه الموضع الذى فيه جوابه مسطور فانى الى يومى هذا ما عرفته ولا اظن ان احدا بلغ به قلة الفهم الى ان يجيب عن سؤال سوفسطائى بل ان كان ولا بد فيصلح السؤال اولا على هذا المثال او نحوه : اى الاثنين ابرد بالقياس الى بدن

١٠ الانسان الفرخ ام الفروج . واحسب انه ان كانت الحكاية عن اليبرودى صحيحة انه هكذا القاها واضعف الذى اتى بعده غيرها فافسدها وما شعر هو بذلك ومن لم يشعر بذلك كيف يعظم نفسه وينصبها لاختبار[1] العقول الصافية وحل الشكوك الغامضة اما يستحى من هذا ويعرف مقدار نفسه فيضعها فى موضعها . . . . .

[من ص ١٥٤ ظ م] غير انه اتى بكلام غير كلام الاوائل يوهم من لا يفهم

١٥ انه يتكلم بشيء وما قال شيئا او عساه فى نفسه يتكلم بما جاء على لسانه مما لا معنى له فى نفسه وهذا هو الاخلق به اذ كان هذا النحو هو نحو كلامه الموجود فى مقالته هذه وفى غيرها مما قد رأيناه له وسمعناه عنه ولذلك سماه اهل العلم بالعراق عطلان ليدلوا بفعلان على انه فى غاية العدامة ليبالغوا فى وصفه بقلة الفهم والمعرفة . . . . .

٢٠ فغلط . . . غلطات كثيرة منها انه وضع اليبرودى سائلا [2] والسائل لا يجب

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(١) م : الاعتبار (٢) م : سايل

عليه ان يعضد سؤاله ببيان ولا يرمى فيه بسهام فقوله ان ذلك واجب بحسب المفهوم من كلامه ، ومنها ان اليبرودى ما عايا اطباء مصر والقاهرة ولو كان كذلك لكان القى ذلك على مع كثرة خلطتى به ، وكان ايضا يجعل ذلك عاما ولم فعل ذلك فذلك كذب ؛ ومنها قوله مسألة مشهورة وما هى مسألة بل دهشمة وتمويه ، وما كان هكذا كيف يكون مشهورا ، ومنهـــا قوله انه اورد فيها ما قاله الاطباء وما قال طبيب قط فيها قولا وكيف يقول من يعقل ويفهم جوابا او غيره فيما هو دهشمة وتمويه بل ان كان ولا بد فالاطباء يقولون بحسب ما توجبه صناعة الطب ان هذا يسخن البدن اكثر من هذا ؛ ومنها قوله قد كان يتسع لليبرودى ان يبين ان الفروج احر وارطب من الفرخ بعدة بيانات وقد وضع اليبرودى سائلا لا مجيبا فكيف يصير السائل مجيبا فى حال واحدة ؛ ولعل اليبرودى القى هذا وهو يعتقد نقيضه ليمتحن به من القاه عليه هل له معرفة ام لا .....

[من ص ١٥٥ و م] فانا اعجب منه كيف لا يشعر بنفسه واشبهه برجل كان فقيها فترك الفقه وادعى الشعر فكان نهاره وليله يهذى بكلام يظن انه شعر (١) وما له وزن من اوزان الشعر ولا فيه معنى من معانى الشعر ولكن الناس فطنوا انه قد خولط ووسوس ؛ وما فطن لهذا الرجل الذى هذا كلامه الى الآن احد انه مفسود الذهن سواى ومن سماه بالعراق عطلان فقط والسبب فى ذلك اهمال الناس علوم الاوائل ، الم يشاهدوه فى الطب وهو لا يعرف سوى صفة واحدة يعالج بها الشيخ والشاب والمدنى والقروى والمرض الحار والبارد وبالقول المطلق كل مرض ؛ اما فى هذا كفاية ان هذا الرجل لا معرفة له ولا فهم له وان كلامه كله

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(١) م : شعرا

هذيان يهذر به فقط . . . . .

وانى اقسم بالله انى عالم ان كلامى لا يبلغه ذهنه ولا كثيرا من الناس ولكن على حال اذ كنت شرعت فى شىء فلا بد من تمامه . . . . .

[من ص ١٥٧ ظ م] اقول انتهى امره فى هذا البيان الثالث الى الدعوى

٥ الكاذبة على الوجود وذلك ان اقل الحيوان قبولا للتأديب نوع الدجاج ويدل على ذلك الوجود بانه لو اخذ انسان ديكا ورباه فى حجره من صغره الى كبره ثم أطلقه لم يعد اليه وهرب منه والدجاج لا يعرف الدار البتة وذلك انه اذا طار منها او صار على جدارها لم يعد اليها ولم يقدر على عودته الا بالحيلة والذى غلط الرجل انه رأى ديكا قد اخذه بعض الخداعين وجعل فى اذنيه زئبقا او غيره من حيث

١٠ لا يشعر به فبقى الديك يدور ويقع ويقوم ويوهم ذلك الخداع انه يرقص فلغلظ طبع هذا الرجل ظن ان هذا الديك قد تعلم وقبل التأديب فاطلق القضية على كل ديك وهذا كذب ولو كان هذا الديك قد قبل التأديب فكيف وما قبله ؛ وقوله ان الديك يعرف ساعات النهار والليل كذب وارسطو قد اعطى العلة فى صياحه آخر الليل فى كتابه فى المسائل الطبيعية ونحن ايضا نجد الحمام يهدر فى الاسحار وعند

١٥ طلوع الشمس هديراً اكثر من صياح الديك وما نجد الديك يصيح خاصة فى الاوقات الاربعة بل صياحه سحرا اكثر قبل الطالع مثل اكثر الطيور . . . . .

[من ص ١٥٨ و م] والعلة فى انه لم تجعل الطبيعة الديك يناوب الدجاجة فى الحضان قلة لبث الدجاجة اذا قامت عن البيض لطلب الغذاء وجعلت الحمام يناوب انثاه لطول لبث انثى الحمام فى طلب الغذاء . . . . .

٢٠ [من ص ١٥٨ ظ م] فما فى الارض احمق منه ولا اقل فهما [1] لان من كان

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(١) م : فهم

مواليا للقدماء او طبيبا [١] على ما ذكر من امر نفسه لايكون محدودا على حمقه هذا فيستدل بالآراء المشهورة لانها لا يقوم منها بوجه ولا بسبب برهان . . . . .

وما فى ذبيحة الديك حجة على انه معظم كما ليس الكبش معظما [٢] فى شريعتنا التى امرتنا بتقريبه بل انما المعظم بقول سقراط فى ذلك ان كانت الحكاية على ظاهرها صحيحة افلون [٣] فاما ان كانت على غير ذلك وهو الحق فقد بطلت حجته من كل وجه ، وقوله معظم فى الشرائع ليت شعرى اى الشرائع الذى الديك معظم فيها ، وقوله معبود عند المانوية كذب فان القوم لايعبدون الديك لكن يحرمون ذبحه تحريما مؤكدا فقط بحسب ما تأدى الينا من اخبارهم ؛ وقوله وماذاك الا لفضيلة فيه احوجت الناس الى عبادته هذيان مضحك جدا فأى فضيلة فى الديك ومن هم الناس التى احوجتهم هذه الفضيلة الى عبادته فانا الى يومنا هذا ماسمعنا ان ناسا احوجتهم فضيلة الديك الى عبادته ؛ وقوله والفراخ محرمة الى آخره ما فيه فائدة ومدار هذه الحماقات كلها اذا سلمت فانما هى ان الديك معظم والفرخ محرم وما فيها شيء آخر وهو يظن ان ذلك برهان على ان الفروج احر من الفرخ وما فى الدنيا حماقة اعجب من هذه . . . . .

قال وحضاه مولد للمنى ومرقه مسهل للقولنج البلغمى اقول ان كان هذا يوجب فضيلة الديك على الحمام ففى ريش الحمام مايزيل الطرقة وفيه من المنافع اكثر مما فى الديك فتنقلب المسألة وتنعكس فيصير الحمام افضل من الديك . . . . .

اقول انا احدثك فى هذا بحديث يضحكك : اتفق عندى شخص فاضل رأى هذه المقالة فوجد قوله معظم فى الشرائع فقال اظنه يريد به ذلك العرش الذى اذا صرخ صرخت الديكة كلها وضحكنا منه جميعا . . . . .

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(١) م : طبب (٢) م : معظم (٣) ناقص من م

[من ص ١٥٩ و م] واقسم بالله انى لصادق فى هذا الحديث وهوان شيخا
وغيره اتفق حضورهم عندى فاخذ بعض اصحابى مقالة هذا الرجل وقرأها فى ذلك
الموضع فلما سمعه ذلك الشيخ والجماعة و كان شيخا له معرفة بحضن بيض الدجاج
والحمام وخبرة به قد زاوله سنين (١) كثيرة فقال وقالوا كلهم ورفعوا اصواتهم
٥ كذب والله من قال هذا القول وضحكنا كلنا من ذلك ضحكا كثيرا . ولما فرغ من
هذا اخد يهذى ويهذر فى اشياء اخر وهى مقايسة الكبش والتيس والجاموس
والبقرة وغير ذلك يروم ان يورد فيها مثل ما اورده فى الفرخ والفروج ويكفى
من ذكر حمقه وهذيانه مايتهيأ عليه

تمت مقالة الشيخ ابى الحسن على بن رضوان فى التنبيه على ما فى كلام مختار
١٠ ابن الحسن من الهذيان والدهثمة والاباطيل التى هى شىء من السفسطة وشىء
على ما لاح لى من وهمه (٢) وظنونه الغير صحيحة والله اعلم بالصواب

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(١) م : سنينا (٢) م : فهمه

[من ص ١٥٩ و م] بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

مقالة ثانية للمختار بن الحسن بن سعدون بن عبدون بن بطلان

في مناقضات على بن رضوان وسماها المقالة المصرية

لانه صنفها بالفسطاط فى سنة احدى واربعين واربعمائة اودع فيها مسائل ومحاورات هى اجوبة عما فعله ابن رضوان فى رسالته التى ناقضه بها فقال :

[ص ٢٩٨ س ١٨ ط] الانتساب الى الصنائع والاشتراك فى البضائع مروات[١] وذمم ، وحرمات وعصم ؛ ادنى حقوقها بذل الانصاف ، وأحد فروضها اجتناب الحيف والاسراف ؛ ويتصل بى عن مولاى [٢] الشيخ الفاضل [٣] أدام الله توفيقه ، واوضح الى الحق طريقه ؛ بلاغات اذا قايستها بما الفته [٤] من حدة طباعه كدت اصدق بها وأن عزوتها الى ما خصه الله به من العلم قطعت بكذبها . وفى كلا الحالين فانى ارى الاغضاء عما امض من مقاله [٥] وارمض من فعاله من الصواب [٦] الواجب [ص ٢٩٩ س ١ ط] والمفروض اللازم اذ كنت اثق برجوعه الى الحق وإن مال فى شعب الباطل فانحقق[٧] انه ينتهى الى العدل وإن خاض فى الخطل الماحل [٧] ؛ لا سيما انى لم اوجده سبيلا الى المباينة ولا

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(١) ط : موات (٢) ناقص من ط (٣) ناقص من ط (٤) ط : الفيته

(٥) م : مقالته ، ط : كلامه (٦) ط : الفعال (٧) — (٧) ناقص من ط

سعيت الا فيما اكد اسباب المودة والمحافظة . ولم [1] اتحده [2] بمسئلة سهلة ولا صعبة وهو ادام الله توفيقه جهيتى [3] فى هذه الدعوى فقد [4] كانت وردت منه [5] مسائل وأجبت فى الحال عنها وتراخيت الى هذه الغاية عن انفاذها ابقاء على المودة وقد بلغنى بعد ذلك انه قال على سبيل المباهلة « يسألنى الف مسئله وأسأله مسئلة واحدة » ولو شئت أن افصح واوضح لفعلت ولكن (شعر) [6]

قومى هم قتلوا أميم اخى   فاذا رميت اصابنى [7] سهمى

لانى اعتقده والجماعة يجرى [8] منى مجرى الاعضاء الرئيسية [9] التى تمرض تارة وتصح اخرى ولم ازل على هذه الشاكلة [10] الى أن اوعر الى من بعض الجهات الجليلة بما [11] لم يسعنى [12] خلافه ولا امكننى التثبط [13] عنه فى عمل هذه المقالة فألفتها [14] وهى سبعة فصول

الفصل [15] الاول فى فضل من لقى الرجال على من درس فى الكتاب

الفصل [16] الثانى فى أن الذى علم [17] من الكتب علماً رديئاً شكوكه بحسب علمه يعسر حلها

الفصل [18] الثالث فى أن اثبات الحق فى عقل من [19] لم يثبت فيه المحال اسهل

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(١) ط : لم (٢) م : اتحداه (٣) م : حتى (٤) ط : وقد

(٥) زائد فى ط : الى (٦) من شعر الحارث بن وعلة الجرمى ، وهو موجود فى حماسة ابى تمام ، بحر الكامل

(٧) ظ : يصيبنى ، وكذلك فى الحماسة ايضاً (٨) ط : يجرون

(٩) ناقص من ط (١٠) ط : المشاكلة (١١) م : ما

(١٢) م : يستغنى (١٣) ط : الاجتناب (١٤) ناقص من ط

(١٥) ناقص من ط (١٦) ناقص من ط (١٧) زائد فى ط : المطالب

(١٨) ناقص من ط (١٩) ناقص من ط

من اثباته عند من ثبت فى عقله المحال

الفصل [١] الرابع فى أن من عادة [٢] الفضلاء عند قراءتهم كتب القدماء أن لا يقطعوا [٣] بظن اذا رأوا فى المطلب تبايناً [٤] وتناقضاً [٤] لكن يخلدوا الى البحث والتطلب

الفصل [٥] الخامس فى مسائل مختلفة مبينة [٦] ببراهين [٦] صحيحة من [٧] مقدمات صادقة يلتمس اجوبتها بالطريقة البرهانية ٥

الفصل [٨] السادس فى تصفح مقالته فى المباهلة التى ضمن فيها أننى اسأله الف مسئلة ويسألنى مسئلة واحدة

الفصل [٩] السابع فى تتبع مقالته فى النقطة [ص ٣٠٠ س ١ ط] الطبيعية والتعيين على موضع الشبهة فى هذه التسمية وستعرف [١٠] الجهة التى اشرت اليها بمشيئة الله [١٠]، ١٠
فامتثلت المرسوم معتذراً اليه غير انى اسأله باله السماء و توحيد الفلاسفة : اذا هو اطلق عنان القلم واستخدم فى بيانه برهان لم وأبرز النتيجة كالبدر فى [١١] حندس الظلم اعفى عبده من ذكره [١٢] بالقبيح [١٢] الذى حظه فى سماعه اكثر [ص ١٥٩ ظ م] من خط مولاى [١٣] فى مقاله وعدل بى [١٤] الى الجواب عن نفس السؤال بما تبين به الصواب بقلب طاهر نقى خال من درن الغضب ، فثاميسطيوس يقول قلوب الحكماء هيا كل الرب فيجب ان تنظف كما [١٥] تنظف [١٥] بيوت عبادته . وفيثاغورس يقول كما [١٦] ان العوام تظن ان البارىء تعالى فى الهيا كل فقط فتحسن سيرتها فيها كذلك يجب ١٥

(١) ناقص من ط (٢) ط : عادات (٣) زائد فى ط : فى علمائها
(٤) — (٤) م : تباين وتناقض (٥) ناقص من ط
(٦) — (٦) ط : صادرة عن براهين (٧) ط : فى (٨) ناقص من ط
(٩) ناقص من ط (١٠) — (١٠) ناقص من ط (١١) ط : من
(١٢) — (١٢) ط : السفه (١٣) ط : الشيخ (١٤) ط : به
(١٥) — (١٥) ناقص من ط (١٦) ناقص من ط

على من علم ان (١) الله فى كل مكان أن تكون سيرته فى كل مكان كسيرة العامة فى الهيا كل ، والله تعالى يعينه على كسر الغضبية ويرشده (٢) الى المضى بموجب الناطقة ويعينه على ملتمسه (٣) [انتهى ط] ان شاء الله تعالى

الفصل الاول فى العلل التى لاجلها صار المتعلم من افواه الرجال افضل واسهل من المتعلم من الصحف اذا ما كان قبولهما واحدا (٤) ، ونحن نورد فى ذلك [ج ٢ ص ١٠١ س ٢٣ ع] عدة علل الاولى منها تجرى هكذا وصول(٥) المعانى من النسيب (٦) الى النسيب (٧) والنسيب (٨) للناطق (٩) وهو المتعلم ناطق (٩) وهو المعلم وغير النسيب جماد وهو الكتاب وبعد الجماد من الناطق مطيل لط يق الفهم وقرب الناطق من الناطق مسهل (١٠) للفهم فالفهم من النسيب وهو المعلم افضل (١١) واسهل واقرب (١١) من غير النسيب وهو الكتاب الثانية (١٢) المتعلم اذا استعجم عليه ما يفهمه المعلم من اللفظ (١٣) نقله الى لفظ آخر والكتاب لا ينقل من لفظ الى غيره (١٤) وكل (١٥) ما هو بهذه الصفة فهو فى ايصال [ج ٢ ص ١٠٢ س ١ ع] العلم اصلح للمتعلم (١٥) فالفهم من المعلم اصلح للمتعلم من الكتاب الثالثة (١٦) النفس العالمة علامة بالفعل وصدور (١٧) الفعل عنها يقال

(١) ناقص من ط (٢) ط : ويرشدنا (٣) ط : الملتمس منه

(٤) م : واحد (٥) م : ووول (٦) م : النسب

(٧) زائد فى ع : خلاف وصولها من غير النسيب الى النسيب

(٨) م : والنسب (٩) — (٩) ع : الناطق افهم للتعليم بالنطق

(١٠) ع : مقرب (١١) — (١١) ع : اقرب واسهل

(١٢) ع : والثالثة على هذه الصورة ، وهى مؤخرة عن الثانية فى ع

(١٣) ع : لفظ (١٤) ع : لفظ

(١٥) — (١٥) يوجد هذا القول فى ع بعد كلمة « الكتاب » التالية

(١٦) ع : والثانية هكذا ، وهى مقدمة على الثالثة فى ع (١٧) ع : وصورة

له تعليم والنفس (١) المتعلمة علامة بالقوة وقبول التعليم (٢) فيها يقال له تعلم (١) والتعليم والتعلم من المضاف والمضافات (٣) معا بالطبع (٣) وكل ما هو للشيء بالطبع اخص به مما ليس هو (٤) له بالطبع فالتعليم من المعلم اخص بالمتعلم من الكتاب (٥) الرابعة (٦) العلم موضوعه اللفظ واللفظ على ثلاثة اضرب قريب من العقل وهو الذى صاغه العقل مثالا لما عنده من المعانى ومتوسط وهو المتلفظ ٥ به بالصوت وهو مثال لما صاغه العقل وبعيد وهو المثبت فى الكتب وهو مثال ما خرج باللفظ فالكتاب مثال مثال مثال المعانى التى فى العقل والمثال الاول لا يقوم مقام الممثل لعوز المثال (٧) فما ظنك بمثال مثال مثال الممثل ، فالمثال الاول لما عند العقل من (٨) اللفظ (٨) اقرب فى الفهم من مثال مثال (٩) والمثال الاول هو اللفظ والثانى هو الكتاب واذا كان الامر على هذا فالفهم من لفظ المعلم ١٠ اسهل واقرب من لفظ الكتاب ؛ وكان شيخنا (١٠) رحمه الله تعالى يقول وصول اللفظ الدال على المعنى من الكتاب الى العقل يكون من جهة حاسة غريبة من اللفظ وهى البصر لان الحاسة النسيبة للفظ هى السمع لانه تصويت والشيء الواصل من النسيب وهو اللفظ اقرب من وصوله من الغريب وهو الكتابة فالفهم من المعلم باللفظ اسهل من الفهم من الكتاب بالخط والخامسة قراءة (١١) المتعلم ١٥ الكتاب على المعلم يوصل اليه العلم من حاسة السمع بلفظ المعلم ومن حاسة البصر من خط الكتاب ووصوله من الكتاب يوصل اليه العلم (١١) من جهة حاسة (١٢)

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(١) — (١) يوجد هذا القول فى ع بعد كلمتى « له بالطبع » (٢) ع : العلم
(٣) — (٣) يوجد هذا القول فى ع بعد القول الذى اشرنا اليه بتعليقة رقم ١ ، وفى ع : والمضافان (٤) ناقص من ع (٥) ع : الكتب
(٦) ع : والرابعة (٧) م : الممثل ، ع : المثل (٨) — (٨) ناقص من ع
(٩) ع : المثال (١٠) يعنى عبد الله بن الطيب
(١١) —(١١) ع : وصول اللفظ الدال على المعنى الى العقل يكون (١٢) م : حاسبة

واحدة[١] غريبة من اللفظ وهي البصر وما [٢] يصل من حاستين [٣] احداهما [٤] نسيبة وهي اللفظ اتقن مما يصل من حاسة واحدة غريبة وهي الخط [٢] فالفهم من المعلم باللفظ اسهل واتقن [٥] من الفهم من الكتاب بالخط ، ولهذا [٦] صار السامع للقراءة يفهما اكثر من القارىء ويرد عليه اذا غلط وان لم يكن افضل منه فيما يقرأه [٦] والحجة [٧] السادسة [٧] هكذا يوجد فى الكتاب اشياء تصد عن العلم قد عدمت فى تعليم المعلم وهى اشتراك[٨] الاسماء[٨] والتصحيف[٩] العارض من اشتباه الحروف بعدم[١٠] النقط[١٠] والغلط وزوغان [١١] البصر وقلة الخبرة بالاعراب او عدم وجود[١٢] الشكل[١٢] او فساد الموجود منه واصطلاح الكتاب فى[١٣] كتب[١٣] ما لا يقرأ وقراءة ما لا يكتب ونحو التعليم ونمط الكلام ومذهب صاحب الكتاب وسقم النسخ ورداءة النقل وادماج القارىء فى [١٤] مواضع المقاطع وخلط المبادىء [١٥] فى التعليم[١٥] وذكر الفاظ مصطلح عليها فى [١٦] الصناعة والفاظ يونانية لم يترجمها [١٧] الناقل[١٨] . وهذه كلها معوقة عن العلم وقد استراح المتعلم عن[١٩] تكلفها عند قراءته على المعلم ، واذا كان الامر على هذا فالقراءة

(١) ناقص من ع (٢) — (٢) ع : لان الحاسة النسيبة للفظ هى السمع لانه تصويت والشىء الواصل من النسيب وهو اللفظ اقرب من وصوله من الغريب وهو الكتابة (٣) م : حاسيتن

(٤) م : احدهما (٥) ناقص من ع (٦) — (٦) ناقص من ع

(٧) — (٧) ع : والسادسة (٨) — (٨) ناقص من ع

(٩) ع : التصحيف (١٠) — (١٠) ع : مع عدم اللفظ (١١) ع : بروغان

(١٢) — (١٢) ع : وجوده مع الخبرة به (١٣) — (١٣) ناقص من ع

(١٤) ناقص من ع (١٥) — (١٥) ع : مبادىء التعاليم (١٦) زائد فى ع : تلك

(١٧) ع : يخرجها (١٨) زائد ع : من اللغة كالثوروس (١٩) ع : من

على العلماء افضل وأجدى من قراءة الانسان لنفسه من[1] الـكتاب[1]. وهذا[2] ما اردنا بيانه[3] وانا آتيك ببيان سابع اظنه مصدقا عندك وهو ما قاله المفسرون فى الاعتياض عن السالبة البسيطة بالموجبة المعدولة فانهم مجمعون على ان هذا الفصل لو لم يسمعه من ارسطو[4] تلميذه[5] ثاوفرسطس واوذيمس لما فهم قط من الـكتاب[6] ، واذا كان الامر على هذا فالفهم من المعلم افضل من الفهم من الـكتاب . ولنبين[7] ذلك ببيانات من الآراء المشهورة ونقول ان فى قول الجمهور ان فلانا صحفى[8] اذا لم يلق عالما وفلانا محرف[9] اذا لم يكن اخذ الصناعة من استاذين مهرة بيانا مقنعا وايضا فى تجنب المتعلمين لا بل العلماء الـكتب التى ليس فيها ضربات الرجال الدالة على لقائهم دليلا كافيا فى ترذيل من لم يلق العلماء ، واذا كان الامر على هذا فالفهم من المعلم اغنى واقنى من الفهم من الـكتاب كما بيناه بالبراهين الصحيحة والآراء المشهورة[7] . وبحسب هذا يجب على كل محب للعلم ان لا يقطع بظن فربما خفى الصواب واذا خفى الصواب علم الاشياء علما رديئا فثار عليه بحسب اعتقاده فى الحق انه محال شكوك يعسر حلها[انتهى ع] كما نبين[10] بمعونة الله فهذا كاف فيما اردنا . . . . .

[ص ٣٠١ س ١٤ ط ، ومن ص ١٦٠ و م] الفصل الرابع فى ان من عادات الفضلاء اذا قرأوا كتابا[11] من[11] كتب القدماء ان لايقطعوا فى علمائها[12]

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(١) — (١) ناقص من ع (٢) ع : وهو (٣) زائد فى ع : قال
(٤) ع : ارسطوطاليس (٥) ع : تلميذاه (٦) ع : كتاب
(٧) — (٧) ناقص من ع (٨) م : صحفيا (٩) م : مجربا
(١٠) م : نبين (١١) — (١١) ناقص من ط (١٢) م : علمها

بظن دون معرفة الامر على الحقيقة . ان من عادة[1] القدماء اذا وقفت عليهم المطالب
ولاح لهم [2] فيها تباين وتناقض ان يعودوا الى التطلب ولا يتسرعوا الى افساد[3]
المطلب [4] ، فان ارسطو [5] بقي برصد القوس الكائن عن القمر اكثر عمره
فما رآه الا دفعتين وجالنيوس واظب على تطلب[6] السكون الذى بعد الانقباض [7]
٥ سنين كثيرة الى [8] ان [8] ادركه ، وابو الخير بن الخمار وابو على بن زرعة
ماتا بحسرة مقالة يحي بن عدى فى المخرسات المبطلة لكتاب القياس ، وشيخنا
ابو الفرج عبد الله [9] بقي عشرين سنة فى [ص ٣٠٢ س ١ ط] تفسير ما بعد
الطبيعة ومرض من الفكر فيه مرضا [10] كاد يلفظ نفسه فيه[11] ، وما منهم[12]
رحمهم الله الا من انفق عمره فى العلم طلبا لدرك الحق هذا والذى فى
١٠ عقولهم مما بالفعل اكثر مما بالقوة فان كنا [13] وما بالقوة فينا اكثر
مما بالفعل اخلدنا الى الطعن عليهم ضحك الحق منا وخسرنا اشرف ما فينا .
ولذلك [14] يجب على كل نسمة عاملة دونهم فى المرتبة إذا رأت أقاويلهم متباينة
الا تقطع بقول فيهم الا بعد الثقة . . . . .

[من ص ١٦٠ ظ م] ولا يرتاب بى على صغر شأنى بقياس هذه الطائفة
١٥ المعدودة اذا انا وصفت بمصر التدبير المرد فينسبنى الى قلة خبرة بالهواء وجرى
على غير قانون الصناعة ولو تأمل الامر حسنا لعلم اننى ما سقيت ماء الشعير

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(١) ط : عادات (٢) ناقص من ط (٣) م : فساد (٤) ط : المطالب
(٥) ط : ارسطوطاليس (٦) ناقص من ط (٧) زائد فى ط : فى النبض
(٨) — (٨) ط : حتى (٩) زائد فى ط : بن الطيب
(١٠) م : مرض ، ط : مرضة (١١) ط : فيها (١٢) ط : فيهم
(١٣) ط : نحن (١٤) ط : ولهذا

الا لمن احرق مزاجه وجلده معجون الزبيب وسكنجبين العنصل وألهب قلبه شراب الافسنتين والاطريفل الكبير وشيط دماغه وعصبه الترياق ودواء المسك المر وحب المنتن ولا وصفت بزورا ولعابا الا لمن قد اشرف على تقريح الصدر والرئة من مطبوخ الزوفا وماء الفجل وقرص الكاكنج والورد المربى العسلى ٥

فليتصور وفقه الله ان الضرورة قادتنى الى هذه الطريقة لان الصناعة البقراطية اوجبت على الاطباء اذا رأوا نارا مضرمة فى الحشاء ان يعالجوها بالادوية الباردة ، ولهذا لما نقلت المرضى الى هذه الطريقة قال فريق من الاطباء لقد جئتنا بشيء اذاء اظننت ان بغداد ومصر سواء وبينهما فى الهواء بعد متفاوت او ما علمت ان بغداد وان وافقها الادوية الباردة فمصر لا يلازمها[1] غير الادوية ١٠ الحارة يحكمون بهذا ولم يروا من البلدين الا احدهما وأنا رأيتهما جميعا فحكمهم لاحد الخصمين من دون رؤية الآخر ظلم وتعد[2] وسبب هذا ما وبخ به جالينوس اصحاب الحيل بقوله انكم لم تبعدوا قط عن منازلكم ولا سافرتم ولا جربتم اختلاف البلدان ولوفعلتم ذلك لعرفتم الفرق بين البلدان التى تحت الدب الاصغر وبين البلدان التى تحت خط الاستواء . وانا اذكر يسيرا من ١٥ احوال البلدين جميعا وقد رضيت به فى الفتوى

[صفة[3] بغداد[3]]

بغداد بلد شمالى ليس بكدر الماء [ص ١٦١ و م] ولا مختلف الاهوية ولا تنقطع عنه الامطار فى الشتاء بل قد ينزل فيها الثلج من السماء ويجمد لكثرة

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(١) م: يلاومها (٢) م : وتعدى
(٣) — (٣) كذا على الهامش فى م

البرد شطا دجلة وتزيد مياهها عند زيادة المياه وتأتى فواكهها وازهارها فى اوانها من فصول السنة لا يكاد يرى فيهم مقشور ولا جرب ولا من به ضيق نفس ولا حكة الا فى الندرة ارضها قطب اقليم قال فيه ارسطو انه ينبت الاذكياء قلما اختار اهله للنسل من جلب من البلاد الجنوبية فلهذا اوجههم على الاكثر بيض مشربة حمرة واخلاقهم طاهرة وطباعهم كريمة ليست ارضها فى وهدة فتحرقها الشمس وتغرقها كثرة المياه وهى من اسباب العفونة نعم ولا فى غربها بحر ولا فى شرقها جبل فى سفحه مقبرة وتتراقى منها الابخرة وتعكسها الريح الغربية الى المدينة لكنها فى بسيط من الارض مستوى جهاتها مكشوفة للشمس والرياح الاربع ، واهلها مع هذه الخصال المعددة المضادة لمصر محتاجون من التدبير المبرد اقل مما يحتاج اليه اهل مصر وما والاها والمصريون محتاجون الى اكثر منه كثيرا ، فلهذه العلل عدلت بهم عن الاشياء الحارة الى الاشياء الباردة على موجب قانون الصناعة ، واذا كان عذرى قد اتضح بأدنى عناية وبان خطل من عجل فى تغليطى من غير ارتأء [ص ٣٠٣ س ١٤ ط] فما ظن الشيخ باناس يجرون فى العالم مجرى الانجم الزهر ابصارنا عند بصائرهم تجرى مجرى بصر (١) الخفاش عند عيون العقبان فى ضوء النهار لا سيما المؤيد ابو (٢) زيد (٢) حنين ابن اسحاق الذى منح الله البشر علوم القدماء على يده فذوى (٣) العقول الى اليوم فى ضيافته (٣) يمتارون من فضله ويعيشون فى بره . وبحسب هذا لم اؤثر للشيخ (٤) ان يدفع العيان ويخرق الاجماع ويكذب بما شهدت به الاذهان وصدق به البرهان من فضله ونور مطارح شعاعه . . . . .

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(١) ناقص من ط (٢) — (٢) ناقص من ط

(٣) — (٣) ط : فالعقول فى ضيافته الى اليوم (٤) م : الشيخ

[ص ٣٠٤ س ٨ ط] وبحسب هذه المعدودة[١] يجب على الشيخ الرجوع عما ثلب به أئمة الصناعة ولا يصر على الكفر بهذه الطائفة[٢] بل يستغفر الله[٣] مما جنى ويسأله الاقالة ليلقى الحق مبيض الوجه فى القيامة ولا[٤] يكون سبب[٥] النفاق على الأئمة بضلال[٥] احداث الاطباء لما يودع انفسهم من مثالب القدماء فيثنيهم عن قراءة كتب الصناعة . فيؤدى ذلك الى هلاك المرضى [انتهى ط] فاننى رأيت من نفر منهم مراء لا ينسى . وذلك انى حضرت مع حدث من تلامذته كنت اتصوره بعظم الهمة فسمعنى اقول المريض يطلع فى عصبه بخار يعرض معه التشنج يأخذ بنوبة فصم الى ذكرى أن هذا مرض يتعلق بالعصب يعرفه الاطباء ففكر فى قولى يوما وليلة وعاد من صبحتها بعد المشاورة والارتأء فانكر أن البخار الذى يلج العصب مرض[٦] وزعم انه سبب وعرض ، ولم يعلم المسكين أن السدة فى العصب من الامراض الآلية فسكت عنه واستعملت معه حسن العشرة ، وفى هذا المجلس انكرت عليه تلطيف الغذاء واستعمال الكى للعضو بالدواء وسقى المريض الترياق والادوية الحارة لان البخار كان ساعة يطلع من اليد اليمنى ويحس به المريض يترافى الى الكتف والرأس يظهر فى الوجه لهب وحمرة ولان نبات الاسطقسات جميعها واكثرها ونوع المرض كانا لا يوجبان استعمال الادوية الحارة . فقال إنا رصدنا هذا التشنج فوجدناه يزول عند حدوث الحمى فنحن نحتذى ونتقبل فعل الطبيعة فى ايجادها الحمى . واذا بالفتى يعتقد أن الحمى من افعال الطبيعة ولم يعلم المسكين أن الطبيعة هى المشفية للامراض التى من جملتها الحمى ، ولهذا لا تكون الحمى طبيعية وكيف تكون طبيعية ونحن نجدها بانها حرارة

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(١) ط : المعددة (٢) ط : الطريقة (٣) زائد فى ط : تعالى (٤) ط : فلا
(٥) — (٥) ط : سببا لضلال (٦) م : مرضا

خارجة عن الطبيعة وما بعده . فلما سمعت هذا منه اشهدت الحاضرين عليه وانصرفت ، وانى لاعذر طبيباً سمعته بانطاكية يقول إن حميات السنة كلها خارجة عن الطبيعة اذ كان هاهنا من يقول انها طبيعية يعز على بالموقعين بالادوية الى الطبيعة [1] لخلاص المرضى كيف يقولون مثل هذا [ص ٣٠٤ س ١٤ ط] ثم [2] حضرت مع تلميذ له [3] آخر [3] ظاهر التجمل بأدنى [4] الذكاء إن صدقت الفراسة [5] بحضرة الامير الاجل ابى على بن جلال الدولة بن عضد الدولة فناخسرو أطال الله بقاءه ورحم اسلافه واياه فى خامس مرضة عرضت له من حمى نائبة اخذت اربعة اقلاد [6] تبدأ ببرد وتقشع بنداوة ، وقد سقاه ذلك الطبيب دواء مسهلا وهو عازم على فصاده [7] من بعد على عادة المصريين فى تأخير الفصد بعد الدواء واطعام المريض قطائف [8] بجلاب فى نوائب [9] الحمى . فسألت الطبيب مستخبراً عن الحمى فقال بلفظة [10] المصريين [10] نعم سيدى عرضت له حمى يوم مركبة من دم وصفراء نائبة اربعة [ص ٣٠٥ س ١ ط] ايام فلما سقيناه الدواء تحلل الدم وبقيت الصفراء ونجرى [11] على فصده لنأمن الصفراء بمشيئة الله ، فطفقت [12] لا اعلم مم [13] اعجب من [14] كون حمى يوم تنوب اربعة ادوار [15] بعلامات المواظبة ام من كونها من اخلاط مركبة أو من الدواء الذى حلل الدم الغليظ وترك الصفراء اللطيفة . وما اشبه هذه [16] الحكاية

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(١) كذا فى م (٢) ط : اننى (٣) — (٣) ط : من تلامذة الشيخ
(٤) ط : بادى (٥) زائد فى ط : فيه (٦) ط : ايام ولاء (٧) ط : فصده
(٨) ط : القطائف (٩) ط : نوب (١٠) — (١٠) ناقص من م
(١١) م : ونجر ، ط : ونحن (١٢) ط : فذهبت (١٣) م : ممن
(١٤) ط : امن (١٥) ط : ايام (١٦) ط : تلك

الا بما حدثنى به الشيخ ... [١] ابو نصر بن العطار رحمه [٢] الله [٢] بانطاكية فانه [ص ١٤١ ظ م] ذكر لى [٣] أن طبيباً رومياً [٤] شارط مريضاً به غب خالصة على برءه بدراهم [٥] معلومة واخذ [٦] فى تدبيره بما غلظ المادة فصارت شطرغب من [٧] بعد ما كانت خالصة . فأنكرنا ذلك ورمنا صرفه فقال انى استحق عليكم نصف الكراء لان الحمى قد ذهب نصفها وظن من جهة التسمية أن الشطرقد ذهب من الحمى ولا زال يسألنا عما كانت فنقول غبا وعما هى الان فنقول شطرا فيتظلم ويقول فلم تمنعونى[٨] نصف القبالة [انتهى ط] . وقد كان مع هذا التلميذ مجلس [٩] قبل هذا بحضرة الاميرقوام الدولة بن رقيب وقد عرضت له شوصة احوجنى فيه الى أن اسأله عن الطريق الذى تسرى فيه المادة[١٠] من العضل المستبطن للاضلاع الى الرئة وبين العضل وبينها فضاء دائر كالتنور من كل جهة ثم قلت له وفى اظهارك قبول الرئة للمادة مع قوتها ودفع العضل اليها ما فيه[١١] مع ضعفه [١٢] وعدم المجاز فيما بينهما بعض القانون فى [١٣] انصباب المواد الى الاعضاء فبلح فى الجواب وسكت وسألنى أن اوقفه على هذا ولم يكن غرضه الفائدة فتركته سدا[١٤] .....

فليرجع الشيخ به عن ذكر أئمة الصناعة ويحرص على تعليم اناس ظاهرهم الفضل والبراعة وباطنهم على هذه الصفة فهو انفع له واعود بالثواب عليه من التشنيع عند الاحداث نخط الاسكندرانيين فى تفاسيرهم وجوامعهم للكتب

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(١) م : الارخى ، ناقص من ط (٢) — (٢) ناقص من ط
(٣) ناقص من ط (٤) ناقص من م (٥) ط : دراهم
(٦) ط : واخذه (٧) ناقص من ط (٨) ط : منعتمونى
(٩) م : مجلسا (١٠) م : المدة (١١) م : فيها
(١٢) م : ضعفها (١٣) ناقص من م (١٤) كذا فى م ، لعله « سدرا »

الست عشرة ومنهم اصطفن ومارينوس [١] وجاسيوس واركيلاوس وانقيلاوس وبلاديوس ويحي النحوى المنجد البطل المحب للتعب ولعل الشيخ يتعذر عليه معرفة اسمائهم على الحقيقة بالعربية وهؤلاء مفسرو كتب الصناعة الطبيه ليت شعرى كيف [٢] يذمهم فى عمل جوامع كتب فسروا فصوصها وعرفوا نصوصها ما للشيخ هداه الله عذر من هذا الا ما يقوله الرجل الالهى [٣] .....

[ص ٣٠٦ س ١٩ ط ، ومن ص ١٦٢ و م] الفصل الخامس فى مسائل مختلفة صادرة عن براهين صحيحة من [٤] مقدمات صادقة ويلتمس [٥] اجوبتها بالطريقة البرهانية المسألة الأولى وهى تتعلق بالبلاد والاهوية وتجرى هكذا : لم صار الحبشة والصقالبة ، وبلادهم وطباعهم متضادة ، يغتذى كل منهم بالاغذية الحارة اليابسة ويشربون الخمور [٦] ويتفلفلون [٧] بالمسك والعنبر ووجب أن يجرى الامر فيهم على [ص ٣٠٧ س ١ ط] خلاف هذا التدبير ، على ان ليس يحسن [٨] بالشيخ [٨] ان يقول ان الحبشة [٩] يستعملونه دواء والصقالبة [١٠] غذاء ذاك [١١] للمضادة وهذا للمشابهة لئلا يلزمه ان يستعمل مثل ذاك [١٢] فى الصيف والشتاء فنسبة الصيف الى بلاد الحبشة كنسبة [١٣] الشتاء من بلاد الصقالبة . ونحن نرى [١٤] الامر يجرى على [١٥] خلاف هذا لانا نستعمل فى الصيف الاغذية الباردة وفى الشتاء الاغذية الحارة ، وفى هذا أيضا موضع شك على اغتذائنا فى الشتاء بالاغذية الحارة والحار كامن فينا وفى الصيف بالاغذية الباردة والبارد فى

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(١) م : وبارسيوس (٢) م : كنت (٣) يعنى ابقراط
(٤) ط : فى (٥) ط : يلتمس (٦) ط : الخمر
(٧) م : ويتغلفون (٨) — (٨) ط : للشيخ (٩) ط : الصقالبة
(١٠) ط : والحبشة (١١) ط : ذلك (١٢) ط : ذلك
(١٣) ط : نسبة (١٤) زائد فى ط : ان (١٥) ناقص من ط

الباطن مستول علينا لانفشاش الحرارة من مسامنا . وهذا قانون الصناعة .
وأظرف [١] من كون الغذاء حاراً مع كون اجوافنا فى الشتاء حارة خروج البول
ابيض مع [٢] قلة شرب الماء [٢] وحدوث الامراض البلغمية وخروج البول
نضيجاً فى الصيف مع [٣] كثرة شرب الماء ولطافة التدبير المبرد [٣] وحدوث
الأمراض الصفراوية مع برد الباطن فى الصيف [٤] . المسألة الثانية [٥] تتعلق ٥
بالسماع [٦] . . . . . .

[من ص ١٦٢ ظ م] الفصل السادس فى تصفح مقالتـه التى ضمن فيها
انى أسأله ألف مسألة ويسألنى مسألة واحدة ، وقبل ذلك نقدم أصلا ينتفع به
فيما نحن بسبيله وهو ذكر الفرق بين الطريقة التى يسلكها الخطباء والاطباء
والفلاسفة فى المحاورة وبين الطريقة التى يسلكها الشعراء فى الذم والهجاء فبذكرنا ١٠
لهما يظهر للشيخ انه ضارع عادة السفهاء وغادر طريقة الفلاسفة وسلك طرق
الاغراق فى الهجاء من غير أن يتكلف وزنا [٧] ولا قوافى ونحن نورد طرفا من
الطريقين جميعا ليتضح للشيخ دعوانا بالاستقراء . اما طريق الخطابة فتجرى
هكذا : ذكر الرواة أن خطيبا من نواحى صقلية [٨] كان اسمه غرابا قصده فتى
يقال له تيسياس ورغب اليه فى تعليم الخطابة وضمن له عن ذلك مالا معينا فأجاب ١٥
رغبته وعلمه فلما لقنها حاول الغدر به ورام فسخ ما وافقه عليه فقال له يا معلم حد
لى الخطابة فحدها بانها مفيدة الاقناع فتمسك بالحد وبنى عليه قياسا وقال انى
اناظرك الآن فى الاجرة فان اقنعتك يا معلم لم أدفعها اليك اذ قد اقنعتك بذلك

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(١) ط : واطرف (٢) — (٢) ناقص من ط (٣) — (٣) ناقص من ط
(٤) زائد فى ط مسألة فى البول وافراغ المنى فى النوم ، وهى المسألة الثانية فى ط
(٥) ط : الثالثة (٦) زائد فى ط : الطبيعى (٧) م : وزن (٨) م : سقليه

وان لم اقدر على اقناعك فلست اعطيك شيئا لانى لم اتعلم الخطابة منك التى هى مفيدة الاقناع فأجابه المعلم وقال له وانا أيضا اناظرك فان اقنعتك بانه يجب لى أن آخذ حقى منك اخذته اخذ من اقنع وان لم اقنعك فيجب أيضا أخذه منك اذ قد انشأت تلميذا استظهر على معلمه فقال من حضر بيض ردیء لغراب ردیء اى معلم نكد وتلميذ نكد فهذا مبلغ ما ينتهى اليه الخطباء .

٥

فأما طريقة الاطباء فانه حكى لى ان [1] بعض المشرحين عير طبيبا وقال له متى تعرف الشريان الذى ينشأ من القلب ويعود الى القلب قال له مسرعا اذا انت علمت العرق الذى ينشأ من الكبد ويعود الى الكبد ، فهذا من السؤال الصحيح الحسن البديع والجواب الصائب السريع فهذا اكثر ما ينتهى اليه مهاترة الأطباء . . . . . [2]

١٠

وأما الطريقة التى يستعملها الشعراء وهى التى استعملها الشيخ فى الهجاء من غير تكلف نظم ولا قوا فى فتجرى هكذا : بلغنا عن شعراء اليونانيين انهم كانوا اذا راموا فى الهجاء امضاء عزيمة القوة الغضبية لم يخرجوا بذلك عن تدبير الناطقة . . . . .

١٥

وبعد فلنأخذ فى تصفح المقالة وهذه المقالة لما تصفحتها وجدت ترجمتها مباينة لغرضها وهذا مخالف لرأى القدماء ووجدته فى آخرها انتج نتيجة ليست عن المقدمات التى نظمها فانه بنى قياسه فيها من مقدمات شعرية تليق بالذم والهجاء واورد فى اثنائها اخبارا مختلفة رواها عن تلميذه بانطاكية لا يليق تخرصها بالحكماء انتج عنها نتيجة ضرورية فاغتممت له بها ولم اسر له بانبعاث خاطره فيها

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(١) ناقص من م

(٢) حذفنا طريقة الفلاسفة ، انظر ابن القفطى ص ٣٠٩ ، س ١٢

لانه اصدرها عن القوة الغضبية دون الناطقة . فقال انى وحش الوجه وهذا
القول لو كان منه حقا لقبح بمثله ان يقوله لعدة جهات الواحدة منها لان اخذى
بتبعة القوة المولدة ولست غافلتها امر لا يتريب فيه من العقلاء[1] كما قال سقراط
وقد عيرته امرأة بقبح الخلقة فقال اما ما الى تحسينه فقد اجتهدت فيه وهو العلم
واما ما الى الطبيعة عمله فعاره عليها والثانية ان هذا القول منه كان له مساغا ٥
لو كانت الطبيعة بدلت سواده المعلى بكمودة بياضا [ص ١٦٣ و م] مشروبا
بحمرة وعوضته عن الفاظه الفدمة غير الدالة بصدق اللهجة وعن عظم الطينة
بخفة ورشاقة وقلبت طيشه وقلقه الى وقار وسكينة لـكان له اصلح الله حاله فى
ذلك بعض الحجة . فاما ان يختص حرسه الله بهذه النقائص المعدودة و يعيرنى بها
وانا برىء منها ففى فعله هذا وحاشاه ظلم وتعد والثالثة انا لو سامحناه واعتقدنا فى ١٠
صفاته انها مقبولة مستحسنة كما تستحسن الخنفساء بنتها فتعودها لم يحسن بالشيخ
ان يفتخر بحسن تخاطيط الهيولى لانه يعلم ان هذا حسن يزيله عنه غضبة عليه
من سلطانه او ربع درهم من السقمونيا او توتيه من المواظبة بل يفتخر علينا
بما خصه الله به من كمال الصورة التى لا تبيد ولا تتلاشى وهو عقله المزين
بالحـكمة فان كان ولا بد ان يفخر علينا بجمال الخلقة وما خصه الله به من قبول ١٥
الصورة فليأخذ المرآة مستعيذا بالله مما يرى ويذكر قول افلاطن القائل ابصر وجهك
فى المرآة فان كان حسنا فافعل حسناً وان كان قبيحا فلا تجمع بين قبيحين . وقد رضيت به اذا
اخذ المرآة حكما على انى قد عرفت ان له حرسه الله مقالة يرد فيها على من[2] عيره
بقبح الخلقة وبين فيها ان الطبيب الفاضل لا يجوز ان يكون وجهه جميلا وقد
صدق ولـكن لا الى حد يفزع الصبيان ويزعج المرضى ، فليرجع[3] الشيخ عن ٢٠

(١) كذا فى م (٢) ناقص من م (٣) م : فلت رجع

هذه الطريقة متصورا انه من عاب المصنوع فقد عاب الصانع وخزيا للمستهزئين بمخلوقات الله ؛ وفى هذه المقالة يذكر انه حين رأى شخصى حكم ببلهى وذاك انه رأى عروق عظيمة فعلم انها مملوءة اخلاطا رديئة قال والاخلاط الرديئة تتبع رداءة المزاج لان النفس تابعة المزاج واذا كان الامر على هذا فقد بانت القضية بالبله [1] ؛ وتلميذه يقول فى الجواب عن [2] هذا انى شاكر الله على ما قيض لى من هذه المعرفة ، فاننى لو لم اظفر فى هذه السفرة إلا به حرسه الله لكانت اجل غنيمة اذ رأيت من يقضى فى هذه الصناعة بهذه [3] الاحكام العجيبة من غير تأمل بجسة ولا استدلال من طبيعة ولا نظر الى قارورة ؛ ما هذه الصناعة ؟ إن هى إلا كهانة او وحى يوحى لانه لو كانت صناعة لتعلم ان العروق العظيمة يجوز ان تكون مملوءة تارة دما جيدا وتارة رديئا لانها وعاء . . . . .

اذا نحن استقرينا المصارعين والقتالين وجدنا امزجتهم فى غاية الصحة غير ان عقولهم لاتصلح للعلوم الرياضية والفلسفة ورأينا العلماء منهوكى الاجسام يعتمدون اضعاف الاعضاء بالطعام الخشن واللباس الخشن ليقوى فيهم العقول الناطقة وترى المبرسمين والمصروعين واصحاب الماليخوليا اعاذ الله الشيخ من البلاء يخبرون بالغيوب التى كأنها نبوة ، ونرى حبيش [4] صاحب زيج الرصد والجاحظ امام علوم العرب وعبد بنى الحسحاس القيم بالشعر والادب مقبحى الخلق وما منهم من اجتمع له مع حسن الصورة وجود الحكمة والشيخ مع ما خصه الله من الفضائل اعدل شاهد . وفى بعض ما استقريناه كفاية فى اتباع المزاج للقوى وليس هذه الشكوك على جالينوس بما هو طبيب لكن على فهم من لا يعرف مغزى كلامه وقصده ومراده ؛ وانا اعدل به القياس والاستقراء وانزله منزلة فقهاء

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(١) م : بالبلده (٢) م : غر (٣) م : لهذه

(٤) يعنى حبيش الاعسم ، وهذا غلط لان صاحب الزيج هو حبش الحاسب

هذه الصناعة واقول له : لو أن رجلا استفتى بفتوى نسختها ما يقول الشيخ وفقه
الله فى رجل اسود اللون مضطرب الطبيعة والكون [١] غليظ الشفتين منتشر
المنخرين جاموسى الوجه بقرى العينين قليل الانصاف محب المراء والخلاف قلق
المشيئة جهر النغمة يفتينا فى ذلك مأجورا من الله . للزمه أن يفتى بما نسخته
الجواب ومن الله المعونة النفس الفاضلة تابعة لاشرف كيفيات الهيولى فهى ٥
توجب عن اللون المشرب حمرة وعن التخاطيط الخبيثة الاخلاق الكريمة وهذه
المعددة هى اضداد هذه فالنفس التابعة لها غير فاضلة وكتبه على بن رضوان على
مذهب القدماء وبحسب تفسير [ص ١٦٣ ظ م] الصناعة الصغيرة . فهذا
ما لا يحيد له عنه فى الفتوى . وقد بقى علينا أن نبين ذلك من قياس الفراسة لكنا
نترك ذلك ابقاء للمودة . فهذا ما يقال فى القضية التى بنى عليها الشيخ قياسه وقد ١٠
نقضناها باقباله . والله تعالى معين ، على ما أقرب [٢] منه وأزلف لديه . وفى هذه المقالة
يذكر الشيخ انى حضرت عنده ودهشت بحكايات شاغلة للزمان وانا أعيد بعض
تلك الحكايات التى جرت فى تضاعيف المحاضرة . ذكرت أن ابا سهل الكوهى
عمل مقالة اهداها فى مهرجان لعضد الدولة فناخسرو رحمه الله يرد فيها على
ارسطو رأيه فى ان الحركتين المتضادتين لا بد بينهما من سكون بأن اخذ مسطرة ١٥
وثقب فى وسطها ثقبا انفذ فيه خيطا بطولها شد فى طرفه رصاصة كالشاقول واخذ
طرف الخيط الآخر بابهامه والسبابة ووضعه فى اول المسطرة وحركه عليها دفعة
واحدة الى آخرها ومعلوم ان الخيط لما تنصفت الحركة عند الثقب تربك نصفه [٣]
بالرصاصة ولما استتممت الحركة الى آخر المسطرة صعد من الخيط ما كان نزل
سواء وصعود الرصاصة ونزولها حركتان ضدان الا انهما تابعان لمحرك لم يفتر ٢٠

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(١) م : واللون (٢) م : قرب (٣) كذا فى م

عن الحركة واذا كانا تابعين لمحرك غير مفتر لزم وجود حركتين ضدين لا سكون بينهما . وقد اعدت الحكاية لتعين الشيخ على موضع الدهشة فقد بلغنى انه فسر السماع وهو يحتاج فيه الى حل هذه الشبهة . [ص ٣٠٩ س ١٨ ط] وفى هذه المقالة يأمرنى الشيخ بتصفح تصانيفه لأهدى الى الناس عيوبه وما اجده من

٥ اغلوطاته ، ومعاذ الله فان قدره يجل عن هذا . غير اننى اتبعت غرضه والتمست منها شيئا فوجدتها لم تنتشر فى [١] ايدى [١] الناس فى [٢] مصر [٢] فنسبت ذلك الى ضنه [٣] بها ثم اتحفنى بعض اصدقائى برده على المؤيد ابى زيد حنين بن اسحاق فى [ص ٣١٠ س ١ ط] مسائله التى انتزعها لولده من كتب جالينوس فقرأت ترجمتها واذا به قد وسمها باغلوطات حنين بن [٤] اسحاق [٤] فعلمت ان

١٠ الله يمهل عبيده [٥] الجهلة [٥] الى وقت يشاء ثم [٦] يأخذهم بغتة فى الجهة التى ازروا على الناس فيها [٦] فتصفحتها [٧] على [٨] مضض من قراءتها [٨] فرأيت كلامه فيها كلام من لم يحط بشىء مما فيها علما لعدمه قراءتها على مشايخ [٩] الصناعة وقد سلك فى نقضها [١٠] ضد المعرفة فكان كمن رام ادراك الالوان بحاسة الذوق والاصوات بحاسة الشم فلم يدرك شيئا وتطلبت فى جميعها ما يجوز ان يجاب عنه

١٥ فلم اجد الا فى [١١] مسألة واحدة وهى [١٢] على ما حكى لى الثقة الامين من جملة مسائل [١٣] وجدها بخط ابن بكس فأخذها الشيخ وادعاها . . . . .

[ص ٣١١ س ٦ ط] ومثل ذلك يوجد فى علوم كثيرة فان ابا حنيفة

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(١) — (١) ط : بايدى (٢) —(٢) ط : بمصر (٣) م : ضنته
(٤) — (٤) ناقص من ط (٥) — (٥) ط : عبده لخطأه
(٦) —(٦) ناقص من ط (٧) ط : تصفحتها (٨) —(٨) ناقص من ط
(٩) ط : معلمى (١٠) ط : بعضها (١١) ناقص من ط
(١٢) ناقص من ط (١٣) ط : ما

وصاحبيه [١] ابا يوسف ومحمد اختلفا [٢] فى نكاح الصابئين [٣] وأكل ذبائحهم
فحرمها ابو حنيفة وأحلها [٤] صاحباه فقال اصحابهم انه ليس بخلاف على الحقيقة
وانما هو خلاف فى الفتوى لان ابا حنيفة سئل عن الصابئين الحرانين [٥] وهم
معروفون بعبادة الكواكب وأجراهم [٦] مجرى عبدة الاوثان فى تحريم المناكحة
والذبيحة وان [٧] صاحبيه [٧] سئلا عن الصابئين السكان بالبطيحة وهم فرقة من ٥
النصارى يؤمنون بالمسيح [٨] فاجابا بجواز اكل [٩] ذبيحتها [١٠] ومناكحتها [١١]
ولو سئل ابو حنيفة عن هذه [١٢] لأفتى بفتوى صاحبيه ولو سئل صاحباه عن
الفرقة التى عناها [١٣] لأفتيا مثل قوله . . . . .

[ص١٣٢ س٤ ط] فلنترك هذا الفن لانه يخرجنا الى الهذيان والاطالة ونأخذ
فى تصفح بقية المقالة . [انتهى ط] وجدت الشيخ يفاخرنى بمعرفة حل الزيج ١٠
والقضايا ولعمرى انها صناعته [١٤] القديمة قبل سنة الوباء ويهول على بتعليمى [١٥]
المناظر والهيئة ، واما النجوم والقضايا فهو فيهما القدوة غير اننى اوثر ان يعرض
آخر زمان هذه الوقعة ومبدأ [ص ١٦٤ و م] الزمان الذى يجدد الله تعالى فيه
بيننا المودة الصادقة لأثق الى علمه بهما على الحقيقة . . . . .

ثم وجدته قد ختم المقالة بالفاظ سفه على جهة المشورة لا يجوز لمثله [١٦] قولها ١٥
معما دلت عليه الفراسة من سداده وتثبته [١٧] واناته فعزوتها الى طغيان القلم وطيش

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(١) م : وصاحبه (٢) ط : اختلفوا (٣) ط : الصابئة
(٤) ط : واحلها (٥) م : الحراس (٦) ط : فاجراهم
(٧) — (٧) ط : وصاحباه (٨) زائد فى ط : عليه السلام
(٩) ناقص من ط (١٠) م : ذبيحهما ، ط : ذبائحهم
(١١) م : ومناكحهما ، ط : ومناكحتهم (١٢) ط : هؤلاء
(١٣) م : اعنينا ، ط : عنا (١٤) م : صناعه (١٥) م : تعليمى
(١٦) م : بمله (١٧) م : وتثبيته

الفكرة والرؤية او غلط الخاطر الشريف فانه تارة يخطىء حرسه الله وتارة لا يصيب

[ص ٣١٢ س ٦ ط] الفصل السابع في تتبع مقالته في النقطة [١] الطبيعة وكشف مادخل عليه فيها[٢] من الشبهة [٢]. [انتهى ط] لما فرغت من المقالة اردت

٥ القطع عندها فرأيت بقى فى الكراسة بقية وو جدت فى الخاطر على كلامه منعة فتصفحت مقالته فى النقطة . . . . .

[من ص ١٦٥ و م] ويدعى اشياء هى اشنع من النقطة الطبيعية ويرى ان فى الوجود ايضا خطوطا طبيعية ظاهرة للعيان ، من شبهات ادعاها على ارشميذس واقليذس ، اوجب بحسبها خروج خطوط طبيعية من البصر تقع على

١٠ المبصر بلا نهاية وخطوط تخرج من حجر المغناطيس الى الحديد . . . . .

[ص ٣١٣ س ٨ ط] وقد خطر ببالى سؤال يحسب [٣] به [٤] على [٥] من جملة الالف [٦] مسألة وهو هل الحديد يطلب الحجر تشوقا [٧] اليه ام الحجر يجذبه اليه قسرا [٨] منه ، وقبيح بنا ان لا نعلم ذلك ضرورة ونحن نشاهده حسا وهذا سؤال ان لم نرجع فيه الى ما قاله ذاك [٩] المدهثم [١٠] حنين صاحب

١٥ الاغلوطات بقينا حيارى نعوذ باللهمن الميل مع الهوى والانخراط فى سلك [١١] الشيطان المغوى وعصيان القوة [١٢] الناطقة . ووجدت الشيخ [١٣] فى فصل من آخر [١٤] المقالة وقد حمى طبعه واحتد غضبه ونشف ريقه ودرت عروقه

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(١) م : النقط (٢) – (٢) ط : من الشبهة فيها (٣) ط : يحتسب
(٤) زائد فى ط : الشيخ (٥) ناقص من ط (٦) م : الف
(٧) ط : شوقا (٨) ط : بقسر (٩) ط : ذلك (١٠) ط : المدهشم
(١١) ط : سبيل (١٢) م : للقوة (١٣) ناقص من م
(١٤) ناقص من ط

وصرح بسبي ولوح باسمي ولم يقض [1] حق الصناعة ولا رعى فى حرمة الدراعة ونسبنى الى الغباء وقطع بأنى لم اقرأ شيئا من علوم القدماء وقال انه لو قرأ لعلم ان ابن بكس وهو من مشايخ الاطباء يقول فى كتابه [2] ان فى القاب نقطة منها تنبعث الحياة الى البدن ، وانا اقول لمولاى [3] الشيخ [3] لقد استعجلت [4] وظننت ان [5] ابن بكس هذا هو الناقل للكتب المدرس للطب ولم تعلم [5] ان هذا ولد له ضرير محب للخمر كثير الغرام بالسكر وهو الذى يقول فيه ابو [6] الخير [6] بن الخمار فى مقالته فى امتحان الاطباء ان الطب [ص ٣١٤ س ١ ط] آل امره ببغداد الى ان صار من قاد ضريرا [7] شهرين قد فتح دكانا فارتسم [8] بطب الابدان وهذا ، ابن بكس ، أبعد عن البيمارستان وتحامى طبه الناس [9] لثلاث خلال [10] لفساد عقله بمواصلة السكر وارتعاش [11] يده عن تأمل الجس وامتناع [12] بصره عن رؤية القوارير وهو صاحب الشكوك التى وقعت الى مولاى [13] الشيخ على مسائل حنين فقدم فى صدرها خطبة ووضع لها الاغلوطات ترجمة وانا ادل الشيخ على جهل [14] هذا الرجل [14] على شغف مولاى به فانه [15] فى هذا الكناش يذكر عند [16] الكلام فى [17] العظام ان الرجل ينقص ضلعا من [18] اضلاع [18] المرأة ولم يعلم ان هذا اذا [19] صحت فيه الرواية كان فى آدم دون سائر

(١) زائد فى ط : فى (٢) ط : كناشه (٣) — (٣) ط : للشيخ اعزه الله
(٤) زائد فى ط : على عادتك (٥) — (٥) ناقص من م
(٦) — (٦) ناقص من ط (٧) م : ضرير (٨) م : فاوسم ، ط : وارتسم
(٩) ناقص من م (١٠) ط : خصال (١١) ط : ولارتعاش
(١٢) ط : ولامتناع (١٣) ناقص من ط (١٤) — (١٤) ط : جهله
(١٥) ناقص من ط (١٦) ط : فى (١٧) ط : عند
(١٨) — (١٨) ط : عن (١٩) ط : لو

البشر فليس اذاً [١] ابن بكس حجة للشيخ [٢] فى وجود نقطة طبيعية [انتهى ط] فليحتم الشيخ بأعز جانب منه وأقوى نصرة . فهذا جواب ما حسن من [٣] كلامه فيه فاما ما جرى منه على جهة السهو فانى اضرب عنه مثل اعتقاده فى خياطة شعر الجفن انه يتم بعقد الخيط بالشعرة وإدخالها فى الابرة ، فانى لم اذكره ، وادعائه مذهب الرازى فى ان مياه العيون فى الصيف والشتاء على حالة واحدة مع ظهور جودة الهضوم فى الشتاء ، فاسامحه به . . . . .

فاما وهو يحرف الحكاية فساطالبه بالحق اذا جلس الله لفصل القضاء واستغاث المرضى واشخصوا الاطباء وحضرت الملائكة الكتبة وخرست الالسن الناطقة وشهدت القوارير الصامتة بدلالتها كانها [٤] على الحالة الحاضرة وظهر الغلط واعترف الاطباء بالذى فرط « يوم لا ينفع مال ولا بنون الا من اتى الله بقلب سليم » [٥] ؛ على ان ليس اعترافه بالسهو وعدم العلم بقبيح عند الفضلاء فان اشياء كثيرة اخذتها عنه وسمعتها منه لم اكن اعرفها من قبل منها تقديمه الدواء المسهل قبل الفصد وهذا اظنه غلطا [٦] قد مات به جماعة ؛ ومنها وصفه فى الحميات [٧] الحارة بمصر ماء الشعير يطبخ فيه كراث وشبث وخل وزيت وملح ؛ ومنها [٨] اعتقاده ان قول ابقراط العمر قصير والصناعة طويلة [ص ١٦٥ ظ م] يعترضه اثنان وسبعون شكا ، وأن اجناس الحميات تنقسم الى ثلاثة عشر الف نوع [٩] فهذا مبدأ جهل تبين عاقبته ويظهر لاجله نقمة الله وعقوبته ، واشياء كثيرة من استنباطاته [١٠] كتبتها وأطرفت الناس بها ودعوت الله له بالسلامة

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(١) ط : قول (٢) ناقص من ط (٣) م : فى (٤) م : كاس
(٥) سورة الشعراء [٢٦] ، ٨٨ و ٨٩ (٦) م : غلط (٧) م : الحمايات
(٨) زائد فى م : ان (٩) م : نوعا (١٠) م : استناطاطه (كذا)

الشاملة والصحة الدائمة الى ان يظهر غضب الله فيفزع منتحلى هذه الصناعة [ص ٣١٤ س ١٠ ط] فهذا ما انتهى اليه من الكلام خوفا من التعريض [(١)] للملال [(١)] ؛ وباجابة مولاى عن فصول هذه المقالة واقامته على ما خالف فيه المتقدمين البرهان والدلالة فرق بين السديد الفاضل والناقص الجاهل . فليتصفح الشيخ ما اوردته تصفح اولى [(٢)] الالباب ويجب [(٣)] عن فصل فصل وباب باب ببراهين يزول معها الارتياب وليتحقق ان اللذة بمضغ الكلام لا تفى بغصة الجواب وان لنا موقف حساب [(٤)] ومجمع ثواب وعقاب يتظلم فيه المرضى الى خالقهم ويطالبون [(٥)] الاطباء بالاغلاط القاضية بهلاكهم وانهم لا يسامحون الشيخ كما ساهحته بسبى [(٦)] ولا يغضون عنه كما اغضيت [(٧)] عن ثلب عرضى فليكن من لقائهم على يقين ويتحقق انهم لا يرضون منه الا بالحق المبين والله يوفقنا واياه للعمل بطاعاته [(٨)] والتقرب الى الله بابتغاء مرضاته وهو حسبى ونعم الوكيل [انتهى ط]

تمت المقالة التى جعلها المختار بن الحسن بن عبدون بن سعدون جوابا عما صدر من الشيخ ابى الحسن على بن رضوان صنفها بالقاهرة فى ذى الحجة من سنة احدى واربعين واربعمائة والحمد لله وحسبى واهب العقل ومبدع الكل ومانح الفضل كما هو له اهل

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(١) — (١) ط : التعرض لاسباب الملام (٢) ط : ذوى
(٣) م : ويجيب (٤) م : حار (٥) م : ويطالبوا (٦) م : بشى
(٧) م : اعضض (٨) ط : بطاعته

[من ص ١٦٥ ظ م] بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

مقالة الشيخ ابى الحسن على بن رضوان

فى ان ما علمه يقين وحكمة وما ظنه مختار بن الحسن البغدادى غلط وسفسطة

قال على بن رضوان وصلت الى من الشيخ الكراسة الاولى من مقالته التى عملها فى وكتبها الى فاستقبحت فعله وتعجبت كيف استجاز ان يكتب فى كتابا لم[1] ينفذه الى فاذاعه فى الناس واشهره قبل انفاذه فترك العدل والانصاف . فان كان فعل ذلك نظيرا لما فعلته انا فيه فبين فعلى وفعله فرق بين واضح وهو انى ما عملت مقالتى فيه ولا كتبتها اليه بل كتبتها للناس كيما امحو بها ما اذاعه عنى فيهم ، فلذلك حسن منى اذاعتها وقبح منه ذلك ، وبعد اذاعته واشهاره ما عمله انفذ الى منه كراسة واحدة فوجدته فيها مستعملا للخدع راكبا للشبه . . . . .

وانا ارفع قدره عن ان اتكلم بما لا صحة له وانسب ذلك منه الى النسيان الموكل بالانسان واذكره بما سلف من الجفاء والعربدة وابين عذرى فى الوفاء والنصفة . . . . .

فاحوجنى ان عملت مقالة اوضحت فيها هذا المعنى اختصارا[2] من القول ولو شئت واوردت[3] فيها ما قاله الفيلسوف[4] والاسكندر وغيرهما لأطلت

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(١) ناقص من م (٢) م : اختصار (٣) م : اوردت (٤) يعنى ارسطوطاليس

بل اقتصرت على ما يمحو عنى ذلك فقط ثم انه اخذ يغلطنى فيما اصبت فيه ويذيع ذلك عنى عند القضاة وكل من لقيه وجاءتنى به الاخبار من كل وجه فانفذت اليه رقعة أعاتبه فيها على ذلك واسأله السكوت عما لا يحسن بمثله ولا بمثلى فابى واستكبر وقال واستظهر فاحوجنى أن عملت مقالة اوردت فيها ما بينه الفيلسوف [١] من امر طبائع الناس ان منهم الفاضل الطبع ومنهم السديد ومنهم العطب وذكرت فيها نحوا من فراسة الطباع وتمثلت به وتحديته بما ذكر من الالف مسألة بمسألة فظن أن ما تحديته به مباهلة ولم يفرق بين التحدى والمباهلة وعندى خطه قبل انفاذى ما سألته عنه يوعز فيه ان اجاريه المسائل فى العلم فسألته ظنا منى به انه من اهل العلم عن شكوك فى نفسى لاسمع ما عنده فيها ولما فعلت ذلك حلت العربدة التى سلفها ولم ار للمسائل جوابا منذ ستة اشهر او سبعة الى وقتى هذا فكان ما سلف من العربدة اجازة عن الجواب لاسباب هو عارف بها ان شاء الله فاذا كان ذلك فالسابق اظلم والمنتصر اسلم ولمن انتصر بعد ظلمة فأولئك ما عليهم من سبيل . . . . .

وقد لزمت فى انتصارى العلم والحكمة فاوردت فيه منافع وفوائد كثيرة من الفلسفة النظرية والعملية ولم ار له مثل ذلك ولا قريبا [٢] منه فيما تضمنته الكراسة بل رأيت كلاما له رونق وطلاوة ظاهرة وباطنه خلاف ظاهره كما باطن الدرهم الزائف والدينار المعمول من نحاس المطلى بالذهب عليه من السم الناقع .....

[من ص ١٦٦ و م] ولذلك ليس لمرض نفسه دواء ولا علاج يرجى به برؤه منه واحسب انه لما وقف على [٣] ذلك منه افاضل اهل العلم ببغداد لقبوه بعطلان ليدلوا بهذا الاسم على المبالغة فى عدمه سبيل الهدى ولا يظن انى خالفت

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(١) يعنى ارسطوطاليس (٢) م : قرب (٣) م : وصف

ما شرطت من طهارة القلب فانى انا لم اسمه بذلك بل صاعد بن بشر طبيب بغداد وعبد الله بن الطيب الذى ينتمى اليه وغيرهما من افاضل اهل بغداد وهم الذين تواطأوا على تسميته . . . . .

[من ص ١٦٧ و م] قوله « فان كنا قد وقفنا على أن الحق غيره » وما فى السموم القاتلة اعظم من هذا وقد قال فرفوريوس ان قبولنا الآراء الرديئة اعظم واشد من قتلنا آباءنا ، واذا كان يروم فى هذا الفصل أن يسمنا بأشد سم واقتله فحق لنا ولكل من سمع كلامه أن نبغضه ونشنأه ونتجنب طريقته ونتوقاها كما يتوقى اوحى الحيات والافاعى قتلا بسمومها . . . . .

[من ص ١٦٧ ظ م] وبالقول المطلق فان جالينوس عرف اجتهاده وحرصه على التماس الحق كما عرف للفيلسوف[١] ذلك ولم يترك واحد منهما الحق لقول بعض المشهورين فى العلم ولا توقف عن اثبات الحق بل ترك للحق قول المشهورين وهذه سبيل اهل العلم وهذا الرجل يأمرنا بخلاف ذلك اعنى أن نترك الحق لقول بعض المشهورين . قال « وابو الخير بن الخمار وابو على بن زرعة ماتا بحسرة مقالة يحي ابن عدى فى المخرسات المبطلة لكتاب القياس » اقول اما ابو الخير وابو على فلست احقق هل ماتا بحسرة ذلك ام لا ، واما المخرسات التى اوردها يحي بن عدى فى مقاله وقرن بها سبع مقالات أخر عضدها بها فقد وقعت لى بخط ابن عدى نفسه وقرأتها ووقفت عليها وعلى مواضع التغليط فيها ومحوتها فى كتابى فى التوسط بين الفيلسوف وخصومه فى المنطق . واما قول هذا الرجل انها مبطلة لكتاب القياس فكذب لانها انما تتعلق بالمقاييس ذوات الجهات فقط وهذا جزء من كتاب القياس لا كله . قال « وشيخنا ابو الفرج بقى عشرين سنة فى تفسير ما بعد الطبيعة ومرض من الفكر فيه مرضة كاد يلفظ[٢]

(١) يعنى ارسطوطاليس ، وفى م : الفلسوف (٢) م : تلف

نفسه فيها . . . . . » اقول اما اجتهاد القوم فى التماس الحق والمواظبة عليه فأمر غير مشكوك فيه ولذلك فازوا بهذه السعادة فان كان قد من الله عز وجل علينا نحن ايضاً بطباع مؤاتية وحرص واجتهاد فما المانع لنا ليت شعرى أن نخرج عقولنا مما بالقوة الى ما بالفعل ونلحق بهم فى الفهم والمعرفة والسعادة ولكن هذا الرجل لما شعر من نفسه بغير مؤاتاة طبعه وآثر الراحة والكسل أظنه شعر أن ما فيه بالقوة اكثر مما فيه بالفعل وظن غيره كذلك فيلزمه بحسب ما اشترط أن يضحك منه الحق ويخسر صنعته وتفوته السعادة وقد تبين من كلامه أنه كذلك . . . . .

[من ص ١٦٨ و م] أما قدرى فظاهر من كلامى انى افهم كلام من سلف من اهل العلم واما قدره فظاهر من كلامه انه لا يفهم ولا يفهم انه لا يفهم والسلام. . . . .

فناقض ارسطو افلاطن وسائر من وقع له غلطه فى الاشياء التى نظر فيها وسارع جالينوس الى ذلك حتى انه صرح بما ظنه من اغلوطات ارسطو وناقض سائر من تقدمه من الاطباء والفلاسفة وسارع ثامسطيوس فى اثبات اغلوطات صاحبه حتى انه لا يتحاشى أن يقول « والذى غلط الفيلسوف فى كذا هو كذا وانى لاعجب بمن هو فى غاية الذكاء والفطنة كيف غلط فيما هذا قدره على قوته » وفرفريوس فى المدخل [١] وايليانس [٢] فى الفصل الخامس من كتاب العبارة ويحيى النحوى فى تفاسيره لكتب [٣] الفيلسوف مثل مناقضته اياه فى المكان ؛ واعجب من هذا أن يحيى النحوى وضع كتاباً سماه الشكوك يوضح فيه [٤] ما [٤] يزعمه اغلوطات جالينوس ، وما احد من الفضلاء اطرح ذلك بل ارسطو اوجب

(١) م : المحره (٢) م : واللدس (٣) م : كـب
(٤) — (٤) م : فيها

شكر هؤلاء ومن جرى مجراهم اذ كان ما نقلوه من ذلك سبباً لادراك الحق
وتخليص النفوس من الآراء الرديئة التى محلها من العقل اشد واعظم من قتل الآباء
كما قال فرفريوس فكذب هذا الرجل فيما قاله ظاهر ومع ظهوره قد وجب على
كل من يؤثر الحق ان يبغضه من قبل أنه قدم محبتنا للقدماء على محبتنا للحق وقد
٥ قال ارسطو ما هذا معناه دون لفظه « الحق وافلاطن لنا صديقان ونحن نقدم
صداقة الحق على صداقة افلاطن » . . . . .

[من ص ١٦٨ ظ م] وانت فيما عظمت به نفسك قد خالفت صناعة الطب
بجميع هذه الانحاء ومن خالف صناعة الطب بجميع هذه الانحاء فبينه وبين الطب
ما بين النجوم والثرى وعند ذلك يطرحون كلامك ويقبلون على الضحك منك
١٠ والسلام

تمت المقالة فى اظهار ما فعله مختار من السفسطة والغلط والدهشمة والتمويه

[ص ١٣٦ و ل] رسالة (١) الشيخ ابى الحسن على بن رضوان الى اطباء مصر والقاهرة المعزية حرسها الله تعالى يشكو فيها حاله وما جرى بينه وبين العلامة المختار بن حسن البغدادى الطبيب (١)

[ص ١٣٦ ظ ل ، ومن ص ١٦٨ ظ م] بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم (٢) ٥
قال الشيخ (٣) الامام العلامة ابو الحسن على بن رضوان (٣) اما بعد يااخوانى واحبائى اطباء مصر والقاهرة اطال الله بقاءكم فانى اتحفكم (٤) بظرائف تتعجبوا منها وهى ما يأخذ به (٥) المختار بن حسن البغدادى فى نفسه فانه عمل مقالة تحداكم بها وزعم (٦) انه يعاييكم بثمانين برهانا فى الفرخ والفروج وانه (٧) ليس فيكم احد يحل منها شيئا ولا يفكه ، وكذلك ارسلها الى فوجدته قد كتب بخطه عليها « مقالة المختار بن حسن الطبيب البغدادى » . وانتم تعلمون ان جالينوس الفاضل اوضح فى كتاب مفرد له (٨) ان الطبيب هو من تكاملت فيه الفضائل

(١) — (١) ناقص من م
(٢) زائد فى ل : وصلى الله على سيدنا ومولانا محمد وآله وسلم رب يسر يا كريم ، وزائد فى م : هذه رسالة اخرى لعلى بن رضوان وضعها لاطباء مصر والقاهرة يخبرهم باحوال مختار بن حسن البغدادى
(٣) — (٣) ناقص من م (٤) م : اطرفكم (٥) ل م : بها
(٦) زائد فى ل : فيها (٧) م : فانه (٨) ناقص من م

كلها التى هى العلم التعليمى والطبيعى والالهى وصناعة المنطق والطب وصالح الاعمال ومحاسن الاخلاق ، وانه من كان كاملا فى الطب وناقصا من[١] واحد[١] منها فهو بعد متطبب لا طبيب ومن لم يتكامل فيه صناعة الطب فهو متعلم لم يبلغ بعد الى ان يسمى بالمتطبب . ولهذا كان من سلف من شيوخنا يتسمون

٥ بالمتطبب وتسامح الناس فى ذلك فصار كل من اخذ فى تعليم الطب يتسمى بالمتطبب وان لم يستحق هذه الرتبة . واذا كان هذا هكذا فمن سمى نفسه الطبيب وما تكاملت فيه صناعة الطب[٢] فهو كذاب احمق . ولما قرأت مقالة هذا الرجل فى الفرخ والفروج لم اجده اتفق له فيها صواب كلمة واحدة فكتبت اليه انبهه على ذلك بأن عرفته أن جميع ما فيها شبيه بالشعبذة وكما يقول اصحاب

١٠ الخرافات « يا[٣] شمعون خذ بالعيون » فطن[٤] لما عرفته بذلك انه[٥] اتى فيها بظرائف استحسنها . فعملت مقالة بينت فيها أن كل ما فى مقالته هذيان وهذر وأنه يتكلم بما جاء على لسانه مما لا صورة له فى نفسه بمنزلة من خولط ووسوس . ثم انفذ الى كراسة بخطه من مقالة اخرى عملها فى فقرأتها فوجدته ايضا فيها[٦] ما عرض له أن يجيء [ص ١٣٧ و ل] بكلمة واحدة صواب[٧] كما قد يعرض

١٥ لغيره أن يغلط بالخطأ . فاجبته عن شيء شيء منها وانى لمنتظر الى وقتى هذا بقية مقالته فى[٨] مجتهداً[٨] فى التماس ذلك لأتمم جوابه وارسله اليه واوقفكم عليه . فلما توقف عن انفاذ[٩] بقية[٩] مقالته رأيت المبادرة بتعريفكم مبلغ

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(١) — (١) م : واحدا (٢) ناقص من م (٣) ناقص من م
(٤) زائد فى ل : انى (٥) ناقص من ل (٦) ناقص من ل
(٧) ل : صوابا (٨) — (٨) ل : ومجتهد
(٩) — (٩) م : انفاده فى

قوته فى الطب بأن ابث [١] لكم من كلامه ولفظه [٢] فى مقالتيه ما تضحكون[٣] منه وتحمدون [٤] الله عز وجل على ما رزقكم وانعم به عليكم من العقل والفهم والمعرفة

قال فى مقالته التى تحداكم بهذا وعاياكم فى اول براهينه « لا تخلو هذه [٥] الرطوبة الزائدة [٦] اما ان تكون حارة او باردة لانه قبيح ان توجد خالية من كيفية » . وهذا كلام مضحك لان الرطوبة كيفية فتكون تقدير كلامه انه[٧] قبيح ان توجد كيفية [٨] خالية من كيفية او يكون ظن [٩] ان الرطوبة ليست بكيفية فلذلك ليست تخلو من كيفية وهذا [١٠] لا شك فى [١١] ان هذا كلام [١١] مختلط يهذى بما جاء على لسانه . ومع هذا فقد ابان عن نفسه انه لا يعرف المزاج الرطب اذ [١٢] كان هذا المزاج الغالب فيه الرطوبة فقط ؛ ومن زعم انه لا يمكن ان توجد الرطوبة الاومعها حرارة او برودة فما يعرف ولا يفهم الحال فى الكيفيات الأول ولا فى المزاج الكائن عنها . وجهل ايضا المحسوس اذ كنا كثيرا ما نجد الماء معتدلا بين الحرارة والبرودة والموجود فيه من الكيفيات الاربع فى هذه الحالة الرطوبة فقط ؛ وكذلك [١٣] كثيرا ما نجد الهواء كذلك ؛ وما [١٤] كان ظهوره هذا الظهور فكيف يخفى امره [ص ١٦٩ و م] عمن يسمى نفسه الطبيب حتى يزعم ان الرطوبة لا يمكن ان [١٥] تكون [١٥] على ما سبق فى برهانه الا ومعها حرارة زائدة او برودة زائدة . وعلى هذا المنهاج اجرى كلامه فى باقى براهينه

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(١) م : ابت (٢) م : بلفظه (٣) ل م : تضحكوا

(٤) ل م : وتحمدوا (٥) ناقص من م (٦) ناقص من م

(٧) ل : لانه (٨) ل : الكيفية (٩) م : يظن

(١٠) زائد فى م : كلام (١١) — (١١) ناقص من م (١٢) ل : الا اذا

(١٣) زائد فى م : ايضا (١٤) ل : ومن (١٥) — (١٥) ل : زيادتها

التى ظن انها براهين ، وقد كشفت امره فى كل شىء منها [١] وبينت ان بينه وبين كل فضيلة من فضائل العلم والمعارف مثل [٢] ما بين الثرى والسماء . ويكفى ان ابث [٣] لكم من كلامه فى مقالته التى عملها فى ما هذا حكاية لفظه على هيئته [ص ١٣٧ ظ ل] قال « الحمى المركبة من صفراء وبلغم : متى قصد الطبيب تلطيف
٥ البلغم بالاشياء الحارة زاد فى مادة الصفراء ، ومتى قصد تبريد الصفراء وترطيبها بالاشياء الباردة زاد فى مادة البلغم » . وانتم تعلمون [٤] ان هذا كلام من لم يعرف شيئا من امر الحميات اذ كان ابقراط وجالينوس وسائر الاطباء كافة قد بينوا ان الحمى سوء مزاج حار يابس ، وما كان منها مجانبا للغب او شطر الغب فهى حمى مركبة من حميين[٥] احداهما الحمى الكائنة عن عفن الصفراء والاخرى الكائنة عن
١٠ عفن البلغم . فمن خالف ذلك وزعم ان حمى [٦] مركبة من صفراء وبلغم فما بينه وبين الطب عمل ، سيما وقد غلط فى علاجها ايضا ؛ وذلك ان الطبيب فى علاج هذه الحمى المركبة يحتاج ان ينظر لا محالة فى ثلاثة اشياء : احدها ان كان معها اعراض مخوفة مثل الصداع المبرح والغشى او افراط قىء او ذرب بادر بتسكين [٧] ذلك ، والثانى ان كان فى[٨] البدن[٨] كثرة من الخلطين نقصها [٩] وأنضج ما لم ينضج
١٥ منها وقطع وجلا ما كان لزجا منها فلطف غليظه وفتح السدد التى هى سبب احتقان الخلط حتى عفن ، والثالث يكون [١٠] قصده تبريد الحمى وترطيبها اذ كانت فى نفسها سوء مزاج حار يابس ؛ فعلى هذا النحو يكون علاج هذه الحمى ؛ واما [١١] الذى ذكره هذا الرجل فبعيد جدا عن طرق الصناعة . وفيه ايضا غلط اخر

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(١) ل م : فيها (٢) ناقص من م (٣) م : اثبت (٤) م : تعرفون
(٥) ل م : حماتين (٦) ل : الحمى (٧) ل : لتسكين (٨) — (٨) م : بالبدن
(٩) فى م على الهامش : اى الكثره (١٠) ناقص من م (١١) م : فاما

وهو قوله « تلطيف البلغم بالاشياء الحارة » اذ قد يمكن تلطيفه بالاشياء الباردة كالسكنجبين . وغلط ثالث بقوله (١) « وتبريد الصفراء وترطيبها » والصفراء فى هذه (٢) الحالة (٢) انما يحتاج ان تنقص عن البدن وتنضج وكثيرا ما يكون ذلك بأدوية فيها اسخان مثل الافسنتين والمحمودة على رأى من زعم ان المحمودة حارة يابسة . وما فى كلام هذا الرجل انه فهم البتة شيئا من ذلك بل كلامه ظاهر فيه ان (٣) بينه وبين الطب من البعد مثل(٤) ما بين مركز العالم [ص ١٣٨ و ل] والمحيط ، وعلى هذا المثال والمنهاج كلامه فى شيء (٥) شيء مما اثبته فى مقالتيه اللتين قدمت ذكرهما كما قد (٦) اوضحنا ذلك فى التنبيه على هذره وهذيانه فى كل شيء منهما . ويكفى ان احضركم (٧) من كلامه ما افتخر به وألحق به نفسه بارسطوطاليس (٨) وجالينوس وغيرهما من أفاضل الاطباء والفلاسفة مثل افلاطن وابقراط (٩) ؛ فانه اورد حكايات عن واحد (١٠) واحد من هؤلاء حرف (١١) كثيرا منها وما اخلى منها حكاية من كذب زاده فيها او نقص (١٢) حقا (١٣) منها حتى افسدها بسوء تصوره (١٤) وفساد ظنه كما قد بينا ذلك عنه فى جوابنا . ولما فرغ منها اضاف نفسه اليهم فقال بهذا اللفظ مفتخراً بحذقه فى الطب وكماله فى المعرفة : « ولا يرتاب فى احد (١٥) على صغر شأنى بقياس هذه الطائفة المعددة اذا انا وصفت بمصر (١٦) التدبير المبرد » الى (١٧) ان قال (١٧)

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(١) ل : ايضا وهو قوله (٢) — (٢) م : هذا الحال (٣) م : انه
(٤) ناقص من م (٥) ل : كل (٦) ناقص من م (٧) ل : اخصكم
(٨) م : بارسطو (٩) م : بقراط (١٠) ل : كل (١١) ل : وحرف
(١٢) م : نقضه (١٣) ناقص من م (١٤) م : تصور (١٥) ناقص من ل
(١٦) ناقص من م (١٧) — (١٧) اما نسخة م فأورد فيها قوله كله

« ولا وصفت بزورا ولا لعابا الا لمن اشرف على تقريح الصدر والرئة من ماء الفجل ومطبوخ الزوفا » . فهذا كلامه بلفظه لما افتخر واجمع رأيه ، وانتم اذا سمعتم هذا الكلام لم ترتابوا بقائله بل تتحققوا انه لا معرفة له بالطب لا بعلمه ولا بعمله لانه [1] قد [1] اعترف انه ينقل التدبير دفعة واحدة من الضد الى الضد وقد رأيتموه يفعل ذلك دائما ولا يعرف من الاضداد الى الضد المبرد فقط [2] مثل [3] ماء [3] الشعير الكثير وبزر [4] الرجلة [4] الكثير وشراب الرمان الحامض وما جرى مجراه يعالج به المحموم والمفلوج والصبي والشيخ والمرأة والرجل وبالجملة كل علة باردة او حارة يابسة او رطبة ؛ وهذا نقيض ما عليه اهل [5] صناعة الطب اذ كل علة فلها علاج خاص ؛ ومن نقل التدبير [6] ايضا [6] دفعة واحدة فقد فعل نقيض ما علمه ابقراط وجالينوس . اما ابقراط فاوضح ان الطبائع لا تحتمل النقلة دفعة من الضد الى الضد ؛ وهذا امر تعرفه العوام فضلا عن الحكماء فلا يهجموا بمن برد بدنه الثلج على النار ولا بالقرب منها حتى يدرجوه ؛ ولا [7] بمن اسخنته شمس [ص ١٣٨ ظ ل] الصيف على البرد دفعة حتى يدرجوه [7] ؛ ومن يأتى منهم من تعب وقد [8] عرق [8] لا يتكشف للهواء دفعة واحدة حتى يتدرج ويسكن ، ومن يقوم من دثار لا يتعرض للهواء البارد دفعة حتى يتدرج ، ولا يقلعون عن دوابهم السرج [9] حتى تسكن ويدرجونها [10] ؛

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(١) – (١) ل : بل (٢) ناقص من م (٣) – (٣) م : كما

(٤) – (٤) م : والبزر رجله (٥) ناقص من م

(٦) – (٦) م : ايضا التدبير (٧) – (٧) ناقص من م

(٨) – (٨) م : وعرق (٩) ناقص من م (١٠) م : ويدرجوها

وقد قال ابقراط فى الثانية من ابيذيميا : الاستلقاء فى موضع بارد والانسان متدثر [١] حتى يستنشق هواء باردا ويسخن بدنه بالدثار وجه من افضل وجوه التدريج ؛ وفسر جالينوس ذلك فقال [٢] : انه ينبغى ان تكون النقلة من الاضداد على تدريج فمن كان فى حر مفرط نقل الى [٣] البرد [٣] على تدريج بان يجعل نفسه [٤] فى هواء بارد وبدنه مغطى بدثار ؛ واوضح جالينوس فى كتاب [٥] حيلة البرء انه [٦] لا ينبغى الانتقال دفعة فى العلاج والمداواة من الضد الى الضد الا [٧] بتدريج [٧] . وعرف ذلك بما ذكره من علاجه لاذن الرجل الوارمة التى تولى علاجها [٨] قبله صاحب ثاسلس فأرخاها . فلما تولى جالينوس علاجها جعل نقاته الى التدبير الصواب على تدريج . وما اشبه انا ما ذكره هذا الرجل من علاجه الذى امتحن به إلا بمن وجد نورة فيها نار كامنة فصب عليها الماء البارد فهيج ما كان كامنا فيها من الحرارة . فان كان ما قاله حقا فانما هيج ما فى الكبد والقلب والدماغ من الحرارة فقتل العليل من ساعته . واعجب من هذا ان ما افتخر به كذب لان من احترق كبده والتهب قلبه وتشيط دماغه فالموت يعاجله قبل اشفائه بالدواء وإن كان قال هذا على طريق المبالغة . فأنتم تعلمون أنه لا يجوز علاج من هذه [٩] حاله اذ قد بلغ الى حد لا يوجد له دواء ولا علاج ؛ ومن عالجه منا فانما يعالجه لضرورة تدعوه الى ذلك مثل امر سلطان لا يمكن رده وما جرى [ص ١٦٩ ظ م] هذا المجرى . فهذا فيه كفايه فى ان تعجبوا من امر [١٠] هذا الرجل وتضحكوا منه [ص ١٣٩ و ل] وتتركوا

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(١) م : مدثر (٢) م : وقال (٣) — (٣) م : للبرد
(٤) م : بنفسه (٥) م : كتابه (٦) م : بان
(٧) — (٧) ناقص من م (٨) م: علاجه (٩) ل : هذا (١٠) ناقص من م

مكالمته فيما تستأنفوه [١] منه [٢] ولا تلتفتوا الى شيء يقوله [٣] بل تنزلوه [٤] بمنزلة انسان قد خولط ووسوس فهو ابدا يهذر ويهذى فلا [٥] يستحق [٥] ان يرثى له ولا [٦] يرحم [٦] قط [٧] ، وفى [٨] هذا كفاية [٨]

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(١) آخر الكلمة ناقص من م (٢) ناقص من م (٣) م : من اقواله
(٤) م : تتركوه (٥) — (٥) م : ويستحق (٦) — (٦) م : ويرحم
(٧) م : فقط (٨) — (٨) ناقص من م ، وزائد فى ل : والله اعلم بالصواب واليه المرجع والمآب تمت الرسالة والله الموفق والحمد لله الخ ، وزائد فى م : تمت رسالة على بن رضوان الى اخوانه اطباء مصر رحم الله منهم المسلمين الخ

فهرست الاسماء

(يشار بالاعداد الى ارقام الصحائف)

Hali Rodoan Natiuitas.

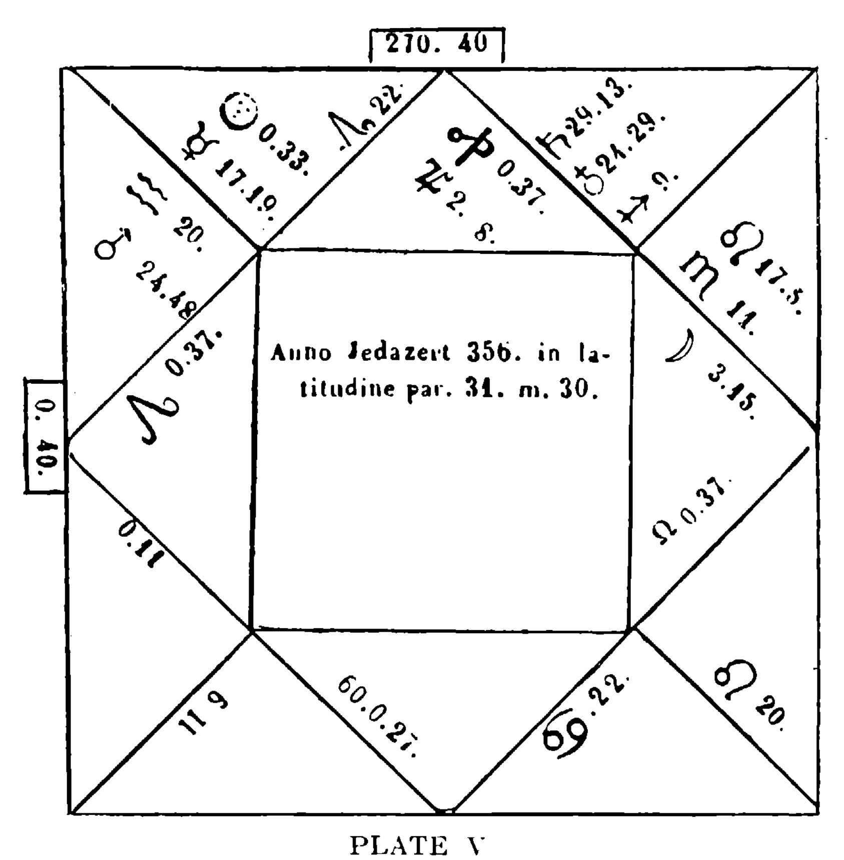


PLATE V

Ibn Riḍwân's Nativity in Latin

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وسلم رب يسر بكرمك

[illegible]

PLATE IV

Fol. 126 b from the Leiden Manuscript

هل المائية تتحرك فتحرك ٥ وبما لم يلق جميع الجهات
السمك ام السمك يتحرك منه فينضج جميعه بالسوا ء
فيتحرك العصارة وهنا الا ٥ ما بال البيضة اذا شويت
خلاف بنشه اختلاف ٥ اوجب القياس زيادتهما
الناس في جذب حجر المغنطيس ٥ على وزنها الذي كان
للحديد لما من قبل
ما بال البيض ينقص نقصان ٥ هل القضية القايلة ان
القمر يزيد بزيادته وماله ٥ المشوي ارطب من المطبوخ
ما يبدو من خارج كالنبات ٥ مادة في كل شي او عدم
تمييز لا ما يستفرغه ٥ في البيض
فينقص لم صار البيض الذي ينقص
ما بال الطبيعة كونت البيضة دخلها الثقل ووزنها كالنور ما زرا
وما ينقص ذكيه بالضد وما ينقص ذكيه بالضد
ومنا من استنبط ذلك ٥
داخلا

داخلا ثم اخرجتها الى الفضاء خارجا في هوا مختلف وانقلاب
الانثى والذكر فرضها للفساد بالاتفاق وبارادة الانسان انا صير
عنا ومنها من موضع الكمال : لما نقصها داخلا وكلمتها الملل للتعب
بها وامنت عليها من الحوادث والاعراض المانعة من كونها حيوانا

PLATE III

From the Bodleian Manuscript

اولاً فاول
لم البيض اذا صلق في ماء قد القي
فيه ملح اسرع تقشره
لاسيما اذا القي من بعد
في ماء بارد
ما بالنا نرى اذا احد قشر بيض
بعض الحيوانات وعمل منه
شكل سمكة والقي في بعض
عصارات الفاكهة لم يقف حركته [?]
حتى ان الناس يختلفون فيه
هل الماء به تحرك فيتحرك
السمك ام السمك يتحرك
فتتحرك العصارة وهذا الا
خلاف يشبه اختلاف
الناس في جذب حجر المغنطيس
للحديد
ما بال البيض ينقص بنقصان
القمر ويزيد بزيادته وما له
ما يمده من خارج كالنبات
فيزيد ولا ما يستفرغه
فينقص
ما بال الطبيعة كونت البيضة

ه نفخة ابطام من غير [?]
ه الطرق
ما بالنا نرى البيض قبيل خروجه
من الحيوان شكله مستديرا
واذا برد صار شكله
بيضيا
ما بال البيض المصلوق تحيط
به حرارة الماء احاطة سواء
فيخرج مختلف النضج والاحتضان [?]
ربما لم يلق جميع الجهات
منه فينضج جميعه بالسواء
ما بال البيضة اذا شويت
اوجب القياس زيادتها
على وزنها الذي كان
لها من قبل
هل القصبة الذابلة ان
المشوي ارطب من المطبوخ
مادة في كل شيء او يحرم
في البيض
لم صار البيض الذي ينقص
دخلها اثقل وزنا واكثر ما رزا [?]
وما يبقى بعد ذلك بالعصر
ومن ان يسقط ذلك ٥

دا ملا [?]

PLATE II

P. 24 from the Taimûr Manuscript.

PLATE I

Fol. 162 b from the Mosul Manuscript

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(Where the reference is to the notes only, the letter n. has been added to the number of the page.)

the fact that the things of which he is bragging, are lies; for a patient whose liver is burnt, whose heart is inflamed and whose brain is overheated, is overcome by death before one can administer to him a remedy, even if he (IB) has been guilty of exaggeration. You know that one must not treat at all a patient who is in this condition, as he has reached a stage in which treatment and remedies are useless. If anyone of us treats him (in such a condition), he does it (in spite of himself and) under constraint, for instance (when he acts) under the order of a Sultan who must be obeyed, and the like.

All this is a sufficient reason for you to wonder about that man and to laugh at him and to avoid speaking with him, if you have any business with him in future; and that you ought not to pay attention to anything he says, but to treat him like one confused and who is subject to evil suggestions (of Satan). For he babbles and talks nonsense continuously, and does not merit that his death should ever be lamented nor that one should recommend him to (Allâh's) mercy — and this is sufficient.

End of the missive of 'Alî ibn Ridwân addressed to his brethren the physicians of Cairo.

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heated by the summer-sun at once into the cold; and he who has made an effort and is running with perspiration does not expose himself suddenly to the draught of air, but does it gradually, and takes a rest; and he who arises from under a blanket does not expose himself suddenly to cold air, but proceeds slowly. Likewise one does not take saddle and harness off the beasts at once, but lets them take a rest and (cool down) gradually. Hippocrates has said in the second book of the *Epidemics* (7): "To lie down in a cool place being wrapped up, so that one inhales cold air while the body is kept warm by the blanket, is one of the best methods for progressive gradation." Galen has explained it and said (8): "It is convenient that the change of contraries be effected gradually; if a person is in excessive heat he changes gradually to cold by resting in cold air while his body is covered with a blanket." Galen has explained in the book *Methodus Medendi* that one has to proceed gradually in the transition in treatment from one contrary to the other. This is evident from the treatment described by him for a man who suffered from a swelling in the ear, and who before he came to him had been treated by a follower of Thessalus (9) who had applied a relaxing treatment; when Galen undertook the treatment he proceeded gradually in the transition to the right treatment.

I cannot compare that which this man (IB) has mentioned as his mode of treatment and which may serve as a test, but with a person who finds a depilatory (*nûra*) in which is hidden fire, and who pours on it cold water, thus causing the outburst of the hidden heat (10). For if that what he says is true he has brought the heat which is in the liver, the heart and the brain, to a head and climax and killed the patient immediately. Still more strange is

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(7) *Œuvres d'Hippocrate* (ed. LITTRE), vol. V (Paris 1846), p. 102 foll. and 311.

(8) *Galeni Opera Omnia* (ed. Kühn), vol. XVII A (Leipzig 1828), p. 398.

(9) *Ibidem*, vol. X (Leipzig 1825), p. 352 foll. As to Thessalus and his school, see above, p. 27 and n. 29.

(10) *Nûra* is an Arabic term which denotes a depilatory containing among other substances quicklime which becomes hot when brought into contact with cold water.

without adding a lie or omitting a truth, corrupting them by his own wrong ideas and opinions as we have explained in our answer. This done, he pretended to rank along with them and — boasting of his sagacity in Medicine and of his perfect knowledge — spoke the following words: "Although my position in comparison with the people I have enumerated (the prominent scholars of Antiquity) is a modest one, nobody ought to entertain a poor idea of me myself, because I have prescribed in Cairo the cold treatment" down to his words : "nor did I prescribe (a decoction of) seeds and gruel except to those patients who were in danger of getting ulceration of thorax and lungs, as a result of radish-juice and decoction of hyssop [6]."

These are literally his words when he boasted of himself and resumed his opinion. If you hear this pronouncement you will have no more doubt about its author, but you will know that he does not possess any knowledge in Medicine, neither theoretical nor practical; for he himself has confessed that he changes the treatment suddenly from one to another which is contrary to the first. You saw (yourselves) that he constantly does so and that he knows only the cooling (treatment as an) alternative (to all others), such as abundant barley-water, abundant (decoction of) purslane-seeds, sour potion of pomegranates and similar things with which he is wont to treat the sufferer from fever or from plegia, the child and the old man, the woman and the man, and in general every disease, cold or warm, dry or moist. This, however, is the very reverse to (all) that is affirmed by the representatives of the medical art, as every disease has its special remedy; and he who besides this, changes the treatment suddenly, does the opposite of what has been taught by Hippocrates and Galen. As to Hippocrates, he has made it plain that the nature does not support a sudden change from one (treatment) to its contrary; this is a fact even known to laymen, and so much the more to physicians. Therefore they avoid bringing a person whose body has been cooled by snow directly to the fire or near it, but they proceed gradually; and they avoid bringing a person who has been

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(6) The meaning is that the physicians who had treated the case before, had wrongly administered "hot" remedies.

bile and the other by putrefaction of the phlegm. He who deviates from this and maintains that there exists a fever composed from yellow bile and phlegm, has no business to be in Medicine, all the more so because he has also made mistakes in the treatment (of this fever). For, in the treatment of this compound of fevers the physician must necessarily have in mind three things: 1) if there are joined with it symptoms causing anxiety, as severe headache, fainting, heavy vomiting or diarrhoea, he must begin by soothing these symptoms; 2) if there is in the body an excess of both humours (viz. yellow bile and phlegm) he must try to diminish it and to mature what is not yet matured, to repel and purify what has become rooted (in the organs), to dilute what is thick, and to remove the obstructions which were the cause of the retention of the humour which consequently became putrefied; 3) his aim must be the cooling and moistening of the fever, as it is by its nature a hot and dry dyscrasy; this is the method of treatment of this fever. But what has been mentioned (as being its remedy) by that man is far removed from the methods of the (medical) art.

In that passage there is yet another mistake, viz. his words: "the dilution of the phlegm by hot remedies." For, its dilution may be effected by cold remedies as well, for example by oxymel. A third mistake lies in his words: "cooling and moistening of the yellow bile." For in this case the yellow bile ought to decrease in the body and to be matured, and this is often effected by remedies in which is a warming power, as e.g. in wormwood (*afsintîn*) and scammony (محمودة *mahmûda*) according to those who think scammony to be a hot and dry remedy. There is no evidence in what that man said that he has understood anything about it, but it is manifest from his words that there is the same distance between him and Medicine as exists between the centre of the world and the Ocean.

Of the same kind and method are his utterances in all that what he affirms in his two afore-mentioned discourses, as we have proved in our exposition of his babbling and nonsense which is contained in all their details. Suffice it to quote to you his words in which he is boasting and pretending to rank along with Aristotle, Galen and other eminent physicians and philosophers like Plato and Hippocrates. For he narrates tales about everyone of them which he mostly distorts and none of which he leaves

He (IB) says in his discourse in which he challenges you and propounds to you riddles, at the beginning of his argumentation: "This excessive moisture must be either warm or cold, because it is inadmissible (قبيح) that it should have no quality." This is ridiculous language, because moisture is (in itself) a quality, so that from his sentence results the allegation that it would be inadmissible that a quality did not possess a quality — provided he does not believe that moisture is not a quality, and could therefore not be without (another) quality. This is without doubt the talk of a confused person from whose tongue (childishly) comes what first enters his head. He indicates, moreover, by his talk that he has no conception of the moist temperament, as this means only (a temperament) in which moisture is predominant. He who maintains that moisture can subsist only in connection with warmth or cold, does not know and understand anything about the primary qualities, nor about the temperament which is generated by them. He does not realize, moreover, that which is perceptible by the senses, as we often find water in the intermediate stage between hot and cold, in which case there exists in it of the four qualities only moisture; likewise we often find the air in this condition. How can something so manifest remain hidden to a man who calls himself a physician, so much so that he maintains in his arguments that moisture exists only with a supplement of heat or cold ? In the same (faulty) manner does he advance the explanation of his other arguments — which he takes for arguments. I have exposed him in every detail of it and shown that there is between him and every perfection in wisdom and knowledge the same distance as between earth and heaven. It is sufficient to quote to you literally the following (example) of his talk in his discourse which he composed about me; he says: "The fever composed from yellow bile and phlegm: if the physician intends to dilute the phlegm by hot remedies he increases the matter of the yellow bile; and if he aims at the cooling and moistening of the yellow bile by cold remedies he increases the matter of the phlegm." You understand that these are the words of a man who does not know anything about fevers, as Hippocrates, Galen and all the other physicians have explained that the fevers are a hot and dry dyscrasy, and that those which are near to the tertian or semi-tertian fever, are a compound of two fevers one of which is generated by putrefaction of the yellow

art, is a mere student who does not even merit to be called a medical practitioner. Therefore our former *shaikhs* called themselves (modestly) *mutatabbib*, but the people were in this matter indulgent, so that they called everyone who began to study Medicine, *mutatabbib*, even if he did not merit this designation. If this is so, a man who calls himself *tabîb* without possessing perfection in the medical art, is a stupid liar.

When I read the discourse of that man (IB) on the young of the bird and the chicken, I found that he had not succeeded even by chance in writing in it one single true word. So I wrote to him ([3]) in order to attract his attention to this, and informed him that its whole contents were like an illusionist's trick, in the same way as our jesters use to say: Oh Simeon, mystify him ! (شمعون خذ بالميون). But although I informed him of this, he believed that he had mentioned in his treatise curious things which he thought to be good. Then I composed a discourse in which I explained that all that is contained in his discourse is nonsense and babbling, and that he speaks out what comes to his tongue without having an image of it in his soul, like one confused and who is subject to evil suggestions (of Satan). Upon which, he sent me a sheet written in his own hand, of another discourse which he had composed about me, and I read it and found that in this too, he had not succeeded even by chance in writing one single true word, as may happen to any one to make a mistake (occasionally) by inadvertence. I answered to him in detail ([4]), and I am waiting to this day for the rest of his discourse concerning myself ([5]), although I took pains to obtain it in order to complete the answer and to send it to him and to attract your attention to it. But as he has omitted to send me the rest of his discourse, I made up my mind to make you immediately acquainted with the extent of his competence in Medicine by quoting passages from his talks and words in his two discourses; it will make you laugh, and make you praise Allâh the Great and Most High, in that He has bestowed on you reason, intelligence and knowledge.

([3]) The following résumé differs appreciably from IR's own narrative at the beginning of the second treatise (see above, p. 76).

([4]) This is the preceeding (fourth) treatise.

([5]) But see above, p. 107 n. 1.

"End of the discourse setting forth the sophistry, mistakes, idle talk and confusions which Mukhtâr (Ibn Butlân) has committed."

V. THE FIFTH TREATISE.

(Complete translation of the Arabic text.)

Missive of the Shaikh Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Ali ibn Riḍwân Addressed to the Physicians of Old Cairo (Miṣr) and the (New) Cairo of al-Mu'izz [1] — may Allâh the Most High Protect it — in which he complains about his condition and what has happened between himself and the learned al-Mukhtâr ibn Ḥasan of Baghdad, the physician.

In the Name of Allâh, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Says the very learned *shaikh* (master) and *imâm* (leader) Abu'l-Hasan 'Alî ibn Ridwân:

Well now, my brethren and friends, physicians of Misr and Cairo — may Allâh prolong your lives! — I am bestowing on you a strange gift at which you will be astonished, concerning the beliefs held by al-Mukhtâr ibn Hasan of Baghdad. He has composed a discourse in which he challenges you by alleging that he is puzzling you by eighty arguments on the young of the bird and the chicken [2], and that there is amongst you not a single one able to solve and unravel anything of them. So he has sent it (also) to me and I found that he had written on it with his own hand: Discourse of Mukhtâr ibn Hasan the physician (طبيب *tabîb*) of Baghdad. You know that the excellent Galen has explained in a monograph that the physician is a man in whom all the excellent qualities are perfected; they are: (the knowledge of) the mathematical, the natural and the theological sciences; moreover, (the possession of) the arts of Logic and Medicine, good actions and a beautiful character. (You know) further that he who is perfect in Medicine, but defective in one of the other branches, is not a physician (*tabib*), but a mere medical practitioner (متطبب *mutatabbib*); and that he who is still not perfect in the medical

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(1) See above, p. 70 n. 1.

(2) See the last chapter of the first treatise, above p. 75.

authority, it is manifest from his words that he does not know anything and even knows not that he knows nothing — and here is an end to it (*wa's-salâm*)."

IR continues to comment in a contentious and cavilling manner on single phrases in IB's treatise, and he inveighs against IB's assertion that the Ancients did not collect the errors of their predecessors in books. In reality, Aristotle has refuted his master Plato, Galen has criticised Aristotle and others, and so did the great commentators of Aristotle: Themistius, who was a direct pupil of Aristotle, Porphyry in his *Isagoge*, Aelianus in his comment on the fifth section of the *Apodeictics*, and John the Grammarian throughout in his commentaries; the same has expounded in his book "The Doubts" some alleged errors of Galen ([10]). IR cites again Porphyry on bad opinions and parricide and finishes by Aristotle's famous sentence : *Amicus Plato, magis amica veritas.*

At the end of his treatise, IR vigorously attacks IB's justification of the new kind of treatment which he had tried to introduce into Egypt and which departs from the usual mode of therapy. It is for every medical man a proof of IB's ignorance; for every physician knows that a sudden change in treatment is harmful to the patient. IR quotes a pertinent passage from Galen concerning the treatment of swelling in the ears (we shall find the same subject discussed in the next, fifth, treatise, p. 117). He then cites Galen's *Methodus Medendi* and Hippocrates' *Epidemics* with Galen's commentary on the third part of this book. After further truculent and abusive remarks, IR concludes with the following words:

"Just in those matters about which you are boasting, did you deviate in all these points from (the rules of) Medicine; and he who does this, is as remote from Medicine as the stars are from earth. At this point are your words rejected and ridiculed — and here is an end to it (*wa's-salâm*)."

([10]) Most of the medical works ascribed by Arabic authors to John the Grammarian, the Alexandrian Christian philosopher of the VIth century, are apocryphal. See M. MEYERHOF, *Joannes Grammatikos (Philoponos) von Alexandrien und die arabische Medizin*, in Mitt. des Deutschen Inst. f. Aegypt. Altertumskunde in Kairo, vol. II (1932), p. 1-21.

IB is too lazy as is manifest from his words. IB's statement concerning Aristotle's and Galen's difference of opinion about the organs is ridiculous and proves that IB has not understood either Aristotle or Galen. Galen knew very well, and says it in his *Anatomy*, that the name *'asab* (عصب "nerve") can denote ligaments, sinews, motor and sensory nerves; he knew, moreover, and says it in his book *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, that the Ancients used to denote by the name *'asab* only ligaments and sinews, and that therefore Hippocrates, if he meant "nerves", had to chose another word denoting sensory and motor nerves. Aristotle called the nerves *subul* ("ducts") in order to state that the psychical spirit passes through them (7). Galen, as he said in *De Placitis*, understood from Aristotle that there were no nerves in the brain, but many nerves in the heart. Many scholars, among them al-Fârâbî, have blamed Galen for this and declared that a man who called himself a philosopher, should have explained these questions better than he did. In their turn, they have tried to remove the ambiguity caused by homonymous terminology. IR says that he has explained all this in his book "On the Mediation between Aristotle and Galen" (8). IB erroneously ascribes to Aristotle the opinion that the heart is the origin of nerves, blood-vessels and bones; this is pure imagination. Aristotle said only in the *Historia Animalium* that two ducts (*sabîl*) run from the brain to the eyes, but not from the heart (9). IB did not understand Galen's division of organs into homogeneous and organic. IR attacks his adversary on some more points, and he ends: "Concerning my own authority, it is evident from my words that I understand the meanings of the ancient scholars; as to his

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(7) This corresponds to the Greek word πόροι *poroi* = ducts, paths, passages.

(8) By this is evidently meant again the afore-mentioned tract No. 26 of IR's book-list.

(9) The quotation by IR refers perhaps to *Historia Animalium*, I, 45, where Aristotle explains that both eyes are joined with the brain by two nervous ducts (πόροι νευρώδεις *poroi neurôdeis*). Also in *De Sensu et Sensib.*, II, 17 Aristotle speaks of the 'ducts of the eye'. The idea that the optic nerves were hollow and allowed the "visual spirit" to flow through them into the eyes was general in the later Alexandrian school.

to Hippocrates and Galen, and embarks on monotonous reproaches of ignorance against IB. After criticising IB's opinions concerning matter and form, IR attacks the section IV of IB's treatise. He quotes a saying of Porphyry, that to embrace bad opinions is worse than parricide. Concerning Aristotle's note on the rarity of the lunar rainbow and Galen's observation of rest after contraction, IR charges IB with having falsified the quotations (but this is positively not true). IR thinks that the really learned man must occasionally abandon the opinions of an authority if they are not in accordance with the truth. IR continues :

"He (IB) says [5] : Abu'l-Khair ibn al-Khammâr and Abû 'Alî ibn Zur'a died in sorrow on account of Yahyâ ibn 'Adî's 'Discourse on the Dumbfounding (striking) Arguments that Refute the Book of *Analytics* (of Aristotle)'. I reply : As to Abu'l-Khair and Abû 'Alî, I am not able to state whether they have died in sorrow on account of it or not. But as to the 'Dumbfounding Arguments' which Yahyâ ibn 'Adî has incorporated into his books, and to which he has annexed seven other treatises supporting the first, I have seen them in Ibn 'Adî's own hand and have read them and have taken notice of them and of the supposed errors exposed there and have refuted them in my book 'On the Mediation between the philosopher (viz. Aristotle) and his adversaries concerning Logic' [6]. As to the statement of that man (IB) that they refute the book of *Analytics*, it is a lie ; for they refer solely to the modal conclusions (*dhawât al-jihât*) which are only a part of the book of *Analytics*, and not the whole of it. He says moreover : Our *shaikh* Abu'l-Faraj (Ibn at-Tayyib) spent twenty years on the interpretation of (Aristotle's) *Metaphysics* and fell so ill meditating about it that he nearly gave up the ghost, etc. ..... I say : The endeavour and zeal of men for reaching the truth is something about which there is no doubt, and they (the Ancients) reached this degree of happiness by means of it. Consequently," IR goes on, "we too are able to make in our reason actuality prevail over potentiality and to reach the same degree of happiness." But to achieve this purpose, his adversary

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([5]) See above, p. 87.

([6]) See Ibn Riḍwân's book-list by IAU, No. 26 (above, p. 43).

At first he deals with the question of the "natural point" : IR has learnt from Aristotle that the name is ambiguous, and he could demonstrate this by quoting in detail Aristotle and Alexander (of Aphrodisias). IB's malevolent utterances had provoked from himself (IR) several written explanations, and at last the composition of the present treatise. IR had put to IB some questions, but has not received any answer within the last six months. IB's arguments are externally good, but internally like false dinars overlaid with poisoned gold. IR goes on to relate that he had met IB in the palace of the emir Jawhar ibn Mâdî [2] and that he had even praised the qualities of IB, his present adversary. IB is nothing but a sophist. The learned men of Baghdad had called IB *'atlân* (عطلان "good-for-nothing") because he was a man without value ; these scholars were Sâ'id ibn Bishr [3], 'Abdallâh ibn at-Tayyib [4], and some others. IR then refutes IB's sections I and II in a relatively concise manner. IB has maintained that he who learns from books has not a correct knowledge, only in order to attack IR ; IR's reply is that such arguments are misinterpretation and sophistry. IB does not seem to have learned anything from his teachers, as is evident from his corrupt opinions. IR charges IB with having quoted an apocryphal sentence ascribed to Aristotle, and then goes on to refute in detail the section III of IB's treatise. He finds that IB was an ignorant man in medical matters, and that he had apparently not read Galen's works nor Hippocrates' *Epidemics*, as he does not know the doctrine of fevers. IR dwells with particular pleasure on a *lapsus calami* of IB who had spoken in a passing remark of a "fever composed from yellow bile and phlegm" [4*] ; also, IB's remarks on the treatment of such a fever are erroneous. IR describes the manner in which such fevers are to be treated according

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[2] He is perhaps identical with Muwaffaq ad-Dawla Jawhar al-Mustanṣirî who was appointed later on governor of Damascus where he died in 453/1061. See ZAMBAUR, p. 30.

[3] He is Ibn 'Abdûs, physician in Baghdad; see p. 63 n. 20.

[4] This statement about IB's professor can hardly be correct; see above, p. 58.

[4*] This form of expression was, however, quite usual; see IB's remarks on a pupil of IR, above, p. 92.

he may be sure that the pleasure of mere quibbling is not sufficient to conceal the dilemma of finding an answer, and that we have to stand (before Allâh) for the settling of accounts and to gather (on the Day of Judgment) for reward and punishment, when patients will complain to their Creator and make the physicians responsible for the mistakes which caused their death. They will not be so indulgent against the *shaikh* (IR) as I have been to him when he blamed me; and they will not overlook (his mistakes) as I have overlooked his calumnies. He may be sure that he has to meet them, and that they will not be contented with any less than manifest truth. May Allâh support us and him in our acts of obedience to Him and in the desire to obtain His satisfaction; He is my sufficiency and a good counsel."

"End of the discourse which was composed by al-Mukhtâr ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Abdûn ibn Sa'dûn as an answer to a publication of the *shaikh* Abu'l-Hasan 'Alî ibn Ridwân; he (IB) has composed it in Cairo in the month of Dhu'l-Hijja of the year 441 [70]."

IV. THE FOURTH TREATISE.

Discourse of the Shaikh Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alî ibn Riḍwân on the Fact that his Own Knowledge is True and is Wisdom, and that the Opinions of Mukhtâr ibn al-Ḥasan of Baghdad are Faulty and are Sophistry.

IR begins by stating that he has received the first sheet of IB's foregoing treatise [1]. He complains about the lack of fairness as shown by his adversary; he (IR) had written his own treatise not against IB, but had addressed it to other people, in order to invalidate IB's reproaches. On the other hand, IB had first published his polemical treatise and then only began to send it to him (IR); this was an act of cunning. IR gives a summary of the beginning of IB's treatise; he finds in it signs of forgetfulness. Then he begins his self-justification.

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[70] Corresponding to May 1050 A.D.

[1] This statement cannot be correct, as IB treated of the "natural point' in the very last chapter of his treatise.

pronounce the judgment; when the patients implore help but the physicians are impotent; when the recording angels are present and the talking tongues become speechless, when the silent urinals bear evidence, as if they were in their present condition, when the faulty (treatment) becomes manifest and the physicians have to confess their negligence, on 'a day when wealth shall profit not, nor sons, but only he who cometh to Allâh with a sound heart' [66]. His (IR's) avowal of his mistakes and ignorance cannot, however, do him wrong in the eyes of eminent people; for I have (also) learnt and heard from him many things that I did not know before [67]. For instance, that he administers the purge before venesection, but that is, in my opinion, a mistake from which many patients died; that he prescribes in hot fevers in Cairo barley-water in which are boiled leek, dill, vinegar, oil and salt; moreover, his belief that the saying of Hippocrates: 'Life is short and the Art is long' [68] is contradicted by seventy-two objections, and that the kinds of fevers are divided into 13,000 species — but this is the first stage of an ignorance the (evil) end of which is apparent, and for which Allâh's chastisement and punishment will be inflicted; and (in general) many of his results which I wrote down and amused people with them; and I implore Allâh to grant him complete welfare and permanent health, until the wrath of Allâh will be manifest and the plagiarists of this art (viz. Medicine) will become frightened.

"I will not go further in my discussion, lest I should weary (the reader). When my master (IR) answers to the sections of this treatise and affords a proof and an argument for his disagreement with the Ancients, the difference between the righteous and perfect and the faulty and ignorant man [69] will come to evidence. Therefore I ask the *shaikh* (IR) to criticise my suggestions after the manner of reasonable men and to answer every single section and every single chapter with arguments excluding doubt;

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[66] Qur'ân, Sûra XXVI, v. 88-9.

[67] This, of course, is meant as an irony, as appears from what follows.

[68] The famous beginning of the first of Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*.

[69] Allusion to the title of a discourse of IR; see No. 85 of his book-list given by IAU (above, p. 47).

In the last part of this chapter IB cites many other wrong opinions held by IR; he treats them as empty talk, not deserving particular refutation. He mentions IR's "belief concerning the suture of the (ingrown) lash: (he believes) that it is set aright by tieing a thread to the hair and then passing the hair through (the eye of) a needle" (62); also IR's "assertion that it is the opinion of ar-Râzî that cataracts of the eye are alike in summer and winter, although the digestion is doubtless better in winter" (63). IB further charges IR with an error regarding the categories; with an erroneous view on the origin of the animals, in contradiction to Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* (64); with the belief that the genuine cinnamon (دار صينى *dâr sînî*) and rhubarb (*râwand*) have perished in the burning of a Roman temple (65); with a preposterous assertion about attraction of the skin by cupping-glasses, of oil by the flame of the lamp and of iron by the magnet; with the opinion that the *forma substantialis* can perish while the substance of the thing remains untouched, as the fire and its smoke; ..... and with the idea that a women can bring forth twins at the same time. IR ascribed, moreover, to Aristotle an opinion on the Possible which was not his own, but was put forward by his commentators. IB concludes this last chapter of his treatise with the following pathetic sermon:

"As to his (IR's) manner of distorting the quotations I shall take him to task about it (on the day) when Allâh will sit to

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(62) There is indeed an operation, described at first by the Greek Paul of Aegina and then by many Arabic oculists, in which ingrown lashes are taken into a sort of sling which is pulled with a needle trough the margin of the lid in an outward direction. See M. MEYERHOF, *The History of Trachoma Treatment in Antiquity and during the Arabic Middle Ages*, in Bulletin of the Ophthalmological Society of Egypt, vol. XXIX (Cairo 1936), p. 55.

(63) This theory of the dependence of cataract on the digestion is not confirmed by the facts.

(64) This may refer to No. 22 in IR's book-list given by IAU; see above, p. 43.

(65) This curious record probably refers to the fire which destroyed in Rome the Temple of Peace and, near it, Galen's library, about 192 A.D. See Galeni *De Libris Propriis*, ed. Kühn, vol. XIX. (Leipzig 1830), p. 21.

his treatise 'On the Examination of Physicians': 'Medicine in Baghdad has come down to such a level that someone who was the guide of a blind man for two months ([59]) opened an office and announced that he gave medical treatment.' *This* Ibn Baks was dismissed from the hospital ([60]), and patients avoided his (medical) treatment for three reasons: on account of his corrupt mind, owing to his continual drunkenness, on account of his trembling hand which did not allow him to feel (the pulse) properly, and on account of his weak sight preventing him from the inspection of urinals. *He* is the auther of the doubts that baffled my master the *shaikh* (IR) about Hunain's questions. He put at the beginning (of his pamphlet) a preface entitled 'The Mistakes'; I shall prove to the *shaikh* (IR) the ignorance of this man, although my master (IR) has a great opinion of him. In this compendium he mentions in the discussion of the bones that the man has one rib less than the woman ([61]); he did not know that, if the tradition is right, this could be the case only in Adam, but not in all other men. Consequently, Ibn Baks cannot be considered by the *shaikh* (IR) as an authority in favour of the existence of a 'natural point'."

([59]) The famous physician and translator Ibrâhîm ibn Baks who lived in Baghdad at the end of the IV/Xth century, was blind, and it is possible that the "lad" of whom IB and Ibn al-Khammâr speak, was his guide, who picked up from him some medical knowledge and opened a clinique on his own account, perhaps aided by the likeness of his name to that of the reputed master. See IAU, vol. II, p. 244.

([60]) This is the 'Aḍudî-Hospital in Baghdad, founded in 368/978 by the afore-mentioned Buwaihid prince 'Aḍud ad-Dawla. The ruler appointed to its service 24 physicians and surgeons from various lands and of different religions. One of them was the famous Ibrâhîm ibn Baks, who there gave lectures on medicine. See AHMED ISSA, *Histoire des Bimaristans (Hôpitaux) à l'Epoque Islamique* (Le Caire 1928), p. 88 foll.

([61]) This opinion is attested as early as in the كتاب اخبار القضاة a history of the judges of Islam, by Wakî' (d. 306/910-9) of which an edition is in preparation by J. SCHACHT: here occurs on fol. 204 b an anecdote of the Caliph 'Alî with the famous qâḍî Shuraiḥ of Kûfa, in which 'Alî decided the uncertain sex of a hermaphrodite as being male, on account of his having eleven ribs on his right side and twelve on his left.

SECTION VII. On the Criticism of his Discourse Concerning the 'Natural Point' (55) and the Revelation of Doubtful Issues which have Occurred to him in it.

IB will give, as an annexe, as the sheet is not yet finished, a discussion of IR's discourse on the "natural point", because this does not exist and has only been invented by IR, contrary to all the authors, especially the ancient ones. He refutes him in detail, quoting Euclid's definition of the hypothetical point, and adds that IR maintained still "more abominable" things, viz. the existence of natural lines which he alleged to be visible to the eye. He reproaches him with having misunderstood Archimedes and Euclid. "Accordingly he maintains that natural lines proceeding from the eye are falling continually on the visual object (56), and that lines proceed from the magnet to the iron. In refuting this, he puts him a question on the magnet, ironically adding that IR is allowed to substract this question from the 1000 questions which he had boasted to answer; he defends once more Hunain ibn Is-hâq against IR's reproaches.

"He (IR) has declared that I have read nothing of the sciences of the Ancients, and has said: 'If he had read them, he ought to know that Ibn Baks who is one of the masters among the physicians, has written in his book (57) that there is in the heart a point from which life radiates into the (whole) body.' But I reply to my master the *shaikh* (IR) [may Allâh give him strength!]: You were too hasty, [according to your habit,] and you believed that *this* Ibn Baks is the translator of books and the professor of medicine, and you did not know that he was a lad who was the guide of a blind man and a lover of wine and a drunkard; it is this lad about whom Abu'l-Khair ibn al-Khammâr (58) wrote in

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(55) See No. 80 in Ibn Riḍwân's book-list, given by IAU; see above, p. 47.

(56) This refers to the theory accepted by the Arabs from Galen, viz. that visual rays pass from the eye to the object.

(57) In the parallel text of IQ: (Medical) Compendium (*kunnâsh*). The additions enclosed by square brackets in our translation come from the same source.

(58) See above, p. 87 no. 11.

about marriage with Sâbi'ans and the eating of meat (from beasts) slaughtered by them; for Abû Hanîfa forbade it, while his two companions allowed it. Their adherents say that this is not a real contradiction, but only a difference of *fatwâ;* for Abû Hanîfa had been asked about the Sâbi'ans of Harrân ([52]) of whom it is known that they are star-worshippers, and he treated them as idolaters, forbidding intermarriage and eating of their meat. But his two companions had been asked about the Sâbi'ans who live in the *Batîha* ([53]), who are a Christian sect and believe in the Messiah; so they answered that it is allowed to eat their meat and to intermarry with them.....". After this digression IB continues to defend Hunain against IR's attacks which he should have directed against Galen himself as well. IB then says:

"I found that the *shaikh* (IR) boasts before me about his knowledge of the analysis of astronomical tables (*zîj*) and of the influences of the constellations. By my life, this is his old profession which he practised before the year of the plague ([54]). He also threatens me (by saying) that he would teach me Aspects and Astronomy. Anyhow, in matters of constellations and their influence he is an authority, but I should like to see the end of the era of this polemic and the beginning of an era in which Allâh the Most High may renew between us love and friendship, so that I may believe in his real knowledge in this art." There follows the discussion of two questions, one from Astronomy and one from Aspects.

At the end of this section IB says that he will consider as mistakes IR's irresponsible assertions at the end of his pamphlet.

([52]) See about them above, p. 74, note 8.

([53]) البطيحة ; the meaning of this word is "the marshland" and it designs in this case the swampy area on the lower course of the Euphrates and Tigris. These "Christians" are the Mandaeans whose descendants still survive there to our day in a few places. See EI s.v. *Batîha*.

([54]) This was probably the great plague of the year 425/1035. See A. v. KREMER, *Die grossen Seuchen des Orients nach arabischen Quellen* (Wien 1880), p. 56, and ST. LANE-POOLE, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (London 1901), p. 136.

rajân (45), and in which he tried to refute Aristotle's opinion that a rest is necessary between two opposite movements. His experimental proof was to perforate a rule in its centre, to draw the twine of a plummet through the hole and to travel with the end of the twine which he held in his hand along the rule from one end to the other; in this case the plummet is lowered and raised in one continuous movement. IB mentions this on account of IR's commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* (46).

IB then asserts that IR had asked him to criticise his (IR's) writings and to correct their mistakes. But these writings are not at all common in Egypt, perhaps because IR was too niggardly of them.

IB then relates that he had been given one of IR's books in which he refuted some of the questions which Hunain had extracted for his son from Galen's books (47). IB asserts that IR had wrongly charged Hunain with mistakes because he did not understand him, as he had not studied his works under the guidance of masters in the medical profession. So "he was like a person who tries to perceive colours with the sense of taste and sounds with the sense of odour." IB has found only one question which it was possible to answer at all, viz. an apparent, but not real, contradiction between Hunain and Galen concerning the mixture of red gall in cases of erysipelas. But this problem, according to IB's informations, had been formulated by Ibn Baks (48) and had been plagiarized by IR. IB goes on:

"Such things occur in many sciences. So, for example, Abû Hanîfa (49) and his two companions Abû Yûsuf (50) and Muhammad ibn al-Hasan (ash-Shaibânî) (51) were of different opinions

(45) The Persian autumn-festival, in the first days of October.

(46) IB means evidently the work mentioned by IAU as No. 26 in the list of the books of IR (see above, p. 43). See also above, p. 87, and n. 10.

(47) This is No. 11 of the same list (above, p. 42).

(48) See below, p. 104, and note 59.

(49) The famous jurist and founder of the Hanafite school, d. 150 A.H./767 A.D.

(50) Died 182 A.H./795 A.D.

(51) Died 189 A.H./804 A.D.

most trustworthy witness in favour of this (statement). But from some observations it can be gathered that indeed the constitution (of the body) follows the faculties (of the soul)." IB pretends that these apparent contradictions only arise from IR's ignorance of the aim and intention of Galen's sayings, and he goes on: "I will re-establish the equilibrium of analogy and experience and put it forward in the fashion of the jurisconsults of this (medical) science.

"Supposing that someone asked for a *fatwâ* (legal opinion) about a question put in the following form: 'What does the *shaikh* — may Allâh support him! — say about a man of blackish complexion, disturbed in his nature (constitution) and temper, with thick lips, large nostrils, with the face of a buffalo and eyes like a cow, of little fairness, fond of polemics and opposition, of unstable will and of sonorous voice? May the *shaikh* — may Allâh recompense him! — give us an answer': then he would be obliged to give the following legal opinion: 'Answer — support comes from Allâh — : An excellent soul corresponds to the noblest qualities of the matter and produces from a mingled colour redness and from ugly forms noble qualities of the character. But the qualities which you have enumerated are the contrary of those; therefore the soul corresponding to them is not noble. Written by 'Alî ibn Ridwân in conformity with the doctrine of the Ancients and according to the explanation of the *Ars Parva* (of Galen) ([42]).' It is not possible to give another *fatwâ* on him."

After this sarcastic piece of mock legal proceeding IB continues to say that one should consider now 'Alî ibn Ridwân according to the rules of Physiognomy; but IB will desist from this task in order to keep the peace. He then replies to IR's allegation that IB had called on him and told ridiculous anecdotes. IB repeats one of them in order to show their true character: Abû Sahl al-Kûhî ([43]) had composed a treatise which he dedicated to 'Adud ad-Dawla Fanâ-Khusraw ([44]) on the occasion of the *Mih-*

([42]) Allusion to the commentary written by IR himself (No. 2 in the list of his works given by IAU; see above, p. 41).

([43]) His name was Waijan ibn Rustam; he was a famous astronomer and mathematician of Persian origin; several of his works are in the National Library in Cairo. See SUTER, p. 75 foll., No. 175.

([44]) The Buwaihid prince and powerful ruler of Baghdad, mentioned above p. 92 n. 20 and below p. 104 n. 60.

my veins are thick which made him know that they were full of bad humours." IB goes on to say that such a diagnosis made without feeling of the pulse and looking at the urinal is not science but soothsaying or (supernatural) revelation (وحي); for thick veins may contain healthy blood as well. Follows a long discussion of the interdependence of body and soul by arguments taken from analogy (logic) and observation, in connection with Galen's treatise "That the Faculties of the Soul Depend on the Constitution of the Body" (*Quod Animi Mores Corporis Temperamenta sequantur*). IB continues:

"If we observe fighters and combatants we find that they are of extraordinarily healthy constitution, but that their intelligence is not fitted for the exact sciences and philosophy. On the contrary, we find that learned men have weak bodies, and even aim at their weakening by the use of coarse food and clothes, in order to obtain the strengthening of the reason and intelligence. We see, moreover, that sufferers from pleurisy, epilepsy and melancholy — may Allâh save the *shaikh* from mischief! — are able to impart secrets, as if they were gifted with prophetical insight. We see also, that Hubaish the author of astronomical tables (39), al-Jâhiz the prince of Arabic learning (40) and 'Abd Bani 'l-Has-hâs the representative of poetry and literature (41) had an ugly exterior, and that there was none of them in whom external beauty and wisdom was joined together. The *shaikh* (IR), on account of the superiorities by which Allâh has distinguished him, is the

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(39) The author has probably confounded Ḥubaish ibn al-Ḥasan with the nickname الأعسم *al-a'sam* (having a distorted hand or foot), the nephew and most prominent pupil of Ḥunain ibn Isḥâq, who is known only as a translator of medical works, and Ḥabash, i.e. Aḥmad ibn 'Abdallâh al-Marwazî called *al-Hâsib* (الحاسب "the Calculator"), who was a famous astronomer under the Caliphs al-Ma'mûn and al-Mu'taṣim. He compiled three astronomical tables and died about 250/864—260/874 (see SUTER, p. 12 foll., No. 22).

(40) Abû 'Uthmân 'Amr ibn Baḥr, the famous writer and theologian of Baghdad (d. about 255/869), was surnamed الجاحظ *al-Jâhiz* on account of his prominent eyes; he is said to have been of monstrous ugliness.

(41) A poet mentioned in the *Kitâb al-Aghânî* (ed. Bûlâq 1285 H.), vol. XX, p. 1 foll.

Allâh improve him! — (his remark) would have a certain value. But that he — may Allâh protect him! — excels by all the aforementioned defects and nevertheless abuses me on account of them, although I am free from them, this mode of dealing — which should not happen — is wrong and unjust.

"Thirdly: Even if we agreed with him and believed that his qualities are fair and beautiful — as the dung-beetle believes its young to be beautiful and is accustomed to it —, it would not be becoming to the *shaikh* (IR) to boast of the beauty of his material appearance, because he knows that this is a beauty of which he may be deprived by the wrath of his Sultan or by a quarter of a drachm of scammony or tutty (37). But he may boast before us of that beautiful shape granted to him by Allâh which does not fade nor pass away, viz. of his intelligence adorned by wisdom. If, however, he cannot but boast before us with his beautiful exterior and the agreeable body which Allâh has granted him, he ought to seize a mirror, to pray for Allâh's protection from what he will behold, and to think of Plato's saying: 'Look at your face in the mirror; if it be beautiful do beautiful things; but if it be ugly do not join two ugly things together!' I am satisfied with his own judgment when he takes the mirror in hand, as I know that he — may Allâh protect him! — has composed a discourse in which he answers those who had blamed him on account of his ugly exterior and in which he has explained that the perfect physician must not have a beautiful face (38). In this he is right, except that it must not be (so ugly) as to frighten children and to disgust patients. Therefore should the *shaikh* (IR) come back from this (wrong) path and consider that he who blames the product, blames in this way the producer, so as to shame those who turn into ridicule Allâh's creations ».

"In the same discourse he mentions that, when he had seen my person, he judged that I was stupid, because he had seen that

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(37) Both of them were caustic substances used in medicine. The mention of the Sultan's wrath refers to the fact that the prince could order at any moment to have nose and ears cut off, a very frequent punishment in former times.

(38) See the reference to this treatise in the biography of Ibn Buṭlân by IAU, above p. 60.

"As to the method of medical men, I have been told that an expert in Anatomy (مشرح) abused a physician and asked him: 'When will you know the artery which begins from the heart and returns to it?' Upon which the other replied immediately: 'At the very moment when you will know the vein which begins from the liver and returns to it' ([36]). This is a fine, nice and clever question and an exact and quick answer, and achieves the utmost limit of medical polemics."

IB then explains the polemic method of philosophers and mentions as one of three examples the anecdote of Socrates who received a box on the ear and wrote on his cheek: 'Such a man cuffed me, and this is his punishment'. After this, IB passes to the method of the poets which he illustrates equally by three examples of pertinent answers in the form of fables on animals, two of which are ascribed to Homer. IB concludes: "But there is none of them who blames and slanders without metre and rhyme like the *shaikh* (IR)."

Now IB turns to the critical dissection of IR's discourse in detail. After some preliminary remarks, he begins:

"He (IR) says that I have an ugly face. To pronounce such an assertion, even if he were justified in doing it, is bad for a man like him from several points of view: Firstly: I cannot be made responsible by intelligent men for (the action of) the generating force (this is evidently the sense; the text seems to be corrupt). As has been said by Socrates when a woman abused him on account of his ugly exterior: 'As to what I can improve, I have tried to effect it, namely by knowledge; but as to what is incumbent on Nature, Nature is to be blamed for it.'

"Secondly: He would be entitled to his remark if Nature had granted him, instead of a dark-blackish complexion a rosy white skin, instead of his impotent and inconclusive speech an exact striking manner of expression, instead of his heavy constitution lightness and mobility, and if it had transformed his inconstancy and excitement into dignity and serenity. In this case — may

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Corax lived about 460 B.C. and Tisias was his successor as a teacher of Rhetorics. Both of them as well as the anecdote are mentioned by IQ (p. 253 and 109).

([36]) Both these bloodvessels are inexistent.

mucous diseases are frequent; and that the urine comes ripe (i.e. dark or concentrated) during the summer when one drinks much water and keeps to a cooling and refining diet, and that diseases from yellow bile are frequent while the interior is cool during the summer."

Then follows in the parallel text cited by IQ [p. 307, line 12-18] a second question or aporia which is wanting from the Mosul manuscript; it is a comparison between strangury and pollution during the sleep. The third [in our MS. the second] question concerns Aristotle's definition of the place, from his *Physics*. The fourth [third] question is extracted from Aristotle's *De Anima*; it deals with the existence of the soul after death, whether by itself, or by its perishable substratum — which is impossible —, or in a new substratum — which is difficult to admit.

SECTION VI. On the Criticism of his Discourse in which he Guaranteed that I could Ask him a Thousand Questions while He would Ask me only One Question (34).

IB premises at first a discussion of the difference in the mode of argumentation of rhetors, physicians and philosophers on the one hand, and of poets in their censorious and libellous poems on the other hand. It would become evident that IR's method is not that of the philosophers, but that he utters his invectives like foolish people. As an example of the methods of rhetors IB cites the anecdote of the earliest Sicilian orator *Ghurâb* (in Arabic "Raven" = *Korax* in Greek) and of his pupil Tisias about the fee for his instruction in Rhetorics (35). Concerning the method followed by physicians, IB gives the following narrative:

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(34) The discourse of IR to which this chapter of IB's treatise refers, is not the treatise No. II of the present publication, but another lost pamphlet of IR. From IR's remarks at the beginning of the fourth treatise (p. 73 of the Arabic text), it appears to be identical with No. 85 of his book-list given by IAU (see above, p. 47). It seems to be identical, too, with IR's preliminary answer to IB's first discourse (see IR's remark at the beginning of the fifth treatise, below p. 113), and to have contained also remarks of one of IR's pupils to which IB refers on p. 64 of the Arabic text.

(35) See J.F. DOBSON, *The Greek Orators* (London 1919), p. 12 foll.

bowels "colic" even if it does not happen in the *colon* (large intestine), and they called the hip-joint "the sciatic nerve" (*'irq an-nisâ'*, literally "women's vein"). When ancient physicians utter untenable opinions it is to be supposed that they conformed themselves to the opinions prevailing in their time ; an example for this is Galen's remark on the power of the look in his book on the opinions of Hippocrates and Plato ([33]). In the same manner are to be explained omissions of necessary presuppositions and the like.

SECTION V. On Different Questions (Aporias) Resulting from Cogent Arguments, i.e. Exact Premises, the Answer to Which one has to Find out by the Demonstrative Method.

"The first question concerning countries and climates is the following : Why do the Ethiopians and the Slavs whose countries and natural dispositions are opposite to each other, both feed on hot and dry aliments, drink wine and use musk and ambergris as condiments, when the matter with them ought to be different? The *shaikh* (IR) must not object that the Ethiopians use them as remedies and the Slavs as aliments, the first on account of the contrast and the second on account of the likeness, because this would push him to the logical sequence of applying the same manner of reasoning as to summer and winter; for the summer is in the same relation to the country of the Ethiopians as is the winter to the country of the Slavs. We see, however, that the matter is not the same in this case ; for we use in the summer cold and in the winter hot aliments. In this lies another aporia (reason of doubt), viz. that we feed in the winter on hot aliments while the heat is hidden in us, whereas we feed in the summer on cold aliments while the cold is prevalent in our interior, because the heat flows out from our pores ; this is contrary to the rules of the (medical) art. Still more strange than the hot alimentation in the winter when our intestines are hot, is the fact that the urine comes away clear in colour while one drinks little water, and that

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([33]) *Galeni De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, VII, chap. 7; ed. Kühn (Leipzig 1823), vol. V, p. 643; ed. Iwan Müller (Leipzig 1874), p. 639.

lâ'ûs ([29]), Palladius ([30]) and Joannes Grammaticus (John the Grammarian), the experienced champion, the Philoponus ([31]). It is perhaps difficult for the *shaikh* (IR) to know their names correctly in Arabic. They were commentators of the books of the medical art, and I should like to know why they should be blamed because they composed compendiums of books the authentical meanings of which they explained and the texts of which they knew. The *shaikh* — may Allâh lead him on the right path! — has no excuse for this, except in the saying of the divine man ([32]) : .....".

Follows a quotation from Hippocrates that the welfare and misfortune of mankind depend on the astronomical constellations. IB then speaks of the liking of the Ancients for solving difficult questions, and for ascribing sentences and riddles even to animals (the Sphinx, etc.) ; he mentions one such riddle and its various solutions in the translation of Is-hâq (ibn Hunain?). In sum, he says, one should not hastily judge on problems from the books of the Ancients. The best commentators explain evident contradictions as metaphoric figures of speech, as references to divergent opinions, as mistakes of copyists and translators, or as glosses which have penetrated into the text; also as exaggerations, as in Hippocrates' works, or by the use of polemic style as in the polemic writings of John Philoponus, or, lastly, by the peculiarities of the Greek terminology. IB gives examples of misleading terminologies, e.g. the ancient physicians called the upper orifice or cardiac extremity of the stomach the "heart" (in Arabic *fû'âd*, in Greek καρδία *kardia*), they called the obstruction in any part of the

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([29]) This is possibly a certain *Agnellus Iatrosophista*, a name which occurs in Medieval translations from Greek. See O. TEMKIN, *Studies in Late Alexandrian Medicine*, in Bull. of the Inst. of the Hist. of Medecine, vol. III (Baltimore 1935), p. 422.

([30]) An iatrosophist of the Vth cent. A.D. He is known by his commentaries on works of Hippocrates and Galen.

([31]) A famous Alexandrian philosopher of the VIth cent. A.D. The Arabs erroneously ascribed to him many medical works. See M. MEYERHOF, *Joannes Grammatikos (Philoponos) von Alexandrien und die arabische Medizin*, in Mitt. d. Deutschen Inst. f. Aegypt. Altertumskunde in Kairo, vol. II (1932), p. 1-21.

([32]) I.e. Hippocrates; the quotation in question is found in his *De Aere, Aquis, Locis;* see *Œuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, ed. LITTRE, vol II (Paris 1840), p. 14-5.

fever was cured; he did not cease to ask what (kind of fever) it had been, and we answered: 'A tertian fever', and what it was now, upon which we answered: 'A semitertian fever.' Therefore he complained of injustice and asked: 'Why do you keep from me half of the fee that was agreed upon?' "

"With the same disciple (of IR) we had had a prior consultation for the Emir Qawâm ad-Dawla ibn Raqîb, who suffered from an attack of pleurisy. I found it necessary to ask him (the young physician) about the way in which the (morbid) matter passes over from the inner muscles of the thorax to the lung, there being between the muscle and the lung on each side a round space like a stove. Then I said to him: 'The fact pointed out by you that the lung receives the matter although it is strong, and the muscle empties into it its contents although the muscle is weak, while there is no passage between them, must somehow depend on a law for the passage of matter into organs?' But he tried in vain to find an answer, was silent and asked me to give him time for consideration. But he had no useful intention in mind, and so I left him perplexed [23]."

IB then relates that he informed IR about the sayings of his pupil and continues:

"Therefore the *shaikh* (IR) ought to stop him (his disciple) from referring to the masters of the profession and take pains to instruct people who though they are apparently excellent and deserving are, in reality, as we have described them. That will be more useful and meritorious than to abuse in a foul manner before young men the school of the Alexandrians for their commentaries on and their summaries of the sixteen books (of Galen) [24]. Among them are Stephen [25], Marinus [26], Gessius [27], Archelaus [28], Anqî-

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(23) So according to our conjecture; the word is corrupt in the text.

(24) See about them IR's book on the study of medicine, above p. 26).

(25) Probably the physician Stephen of Athens, a contemporary of the philosopher Stephen of Alexandria (first half of the VIIth cent. A.D.).

(26) In the text a copyist's mistake: Persius. Several personages bore the name of Marinus.

(27) The iatrosophist Gessios of Petra who lived about 500 A.D.

(28) Our text gives this name for the first time in its correct form.

science of physiognomy. This was at (the sickbed of) the illustrious prince Abû 'Alî ibn Jalâl ad-Dawla ibn 'Adud ad-Dawla Fanâ-Khusraw ([20]) — may Allâh prolong his life and have mercy on his ancestors and on himself ! — in his fifth illness which befell him in the form of an intermittent fever lasting four days, starting with chill and ceasing with sudor. This physician had administered to him a purgative and intended to make him a venesection, following in this the habit of the Egyptians who are in the habit of delaying the venesection in feverish paroxysms until after the administering of the remedy and the dieting of the patient with vermicelli-paste kneaded with rose-water. Then I asked that doctor and inquired about the fever, and he answered in Egyptian dialect : 'Yes, my lord has an ephemeral fever composed of blood and bile which returns on four subsequent days ; if we make him drink the remedy the blood is dissolved and the bile remains ; therefore we apply the venesection in order to get rid of the bile — if it is the will of Allah.' Then I did not know at which I ought to be the more astonished : that there should exist an ephemeral fever returning four times with the signs of permanence, or that it should be composed of different humours, or about a remedy which should be able to dissolve the thick blood, but leave untouched the thin bile.

"This story finds a parallel only in that which has been told me by the ..... *shaikh* Abû Nasr ibn al-'Attâr ([21]) — may Allâh have mercy on him ! — in Antioch. He told me that a Romaic physician pledged himself to cure a patient suffering from a simple tertian fever, for a certain sum of money ; he began to treat him with remedies which thickened the (morbid) matter so that from a simple tertian it became a semi-tertian fever. As we disapproved of this treatment and wanted to remove him (the doctor), he said : 'I ask from you half of the fee, because half of the fever has disappeared.' He believed on account of the name ([22]) that half of the

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([20]) This probably is Abû 'Alî al-Ḥasan Musharrif ad-Dawla (born in 392/1002), a grandson of the powerful Buwaihid prince 'Adud ad-Dawla (d. 372/983). See ZAMBAUR, p. 212 and folding table Q, No. 13.

([21]) This scholar is elsewhere known to us only from IB's relation on his journey in his biography by IQ (see above, p. 56).

([22]) On semitertian fever and its name see our publication of Galen's *On Medical Names* (mentioned above, n. 19), p. 10 foll.

that this was a disease concerning the nervous system and well known to physicians, but meditated about it one day and one night; he returned on the morning, having taken advice and formed an opinion, and denied that the vapour entering the nerve was a disease; he maintained that it was only a cause and an *accidens* (symptom). But the poor man did not know that obstruction of the nerve is one of the organic diseases (17) : so I remained silent and treated him with great kindness. But in the course of this consultation, I disapproved before him of the refining diet (18) and the application of cautery to the limb by means of remedies, and of the ingestion of theriac and hot medicines, because every time the vapour used to rise from the right hand, which rise he (the patient) could feel in his shoulder and head, there appeared inflammation and redness in his face; moreover, because the origin of all the elements (concerned in the disease) or of most of them, as well as the type of disease, did not require application of hot remedies. Thereupon he said: We have observed this spasm and found that it ceases on the occurrence of fever; therefore we imitate the action of Nature and adopt it, viz. that it procures the fever. Thus, the young man believed that fever is one of the activities of Nature, and the poor creature did not know that it is Nature which brings to a healing the diseases to which fever belongs among others. Therefore fever is not something natural; how could it be natural as we find that it is an unnatural heat with all its consequences (19)? When I had heard this from him I took the bystanders as witnesses against him and left. On the contrary, I can excuse a physician whom I heard saying in Antioch that all the seasonal fevers are unnatural, as there are certain people who pretended that they are natural......

"Then I met another of his (IR) pupils who was evidently proud of his inferior intelligence, if I know anything of the

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(17) According to Galen: he believed certain nerves to be hollow so as to be obstructed in certain diseases by "thick vapours".

(18) I.e. a diet refining the humours.

(19) This is again the definition of fever given by Galen. See, e.g., *Galen über die medizinischen Namen*, ed. M. MEYERHOF and J. SCHACHT, Berlin 1931 (Abhandl. der Preuss. Akademie der Wissensch.), p. 19 foll.

noble. The region (of Baghdad) is not in a depressed plain so that it be either scorched by the sun or submerged by the abundance of water, which is a cause of putrefaction. Nay, there is not to the west (of Baghdad) a stream nor is there to the east of it a mountain at the foot of which is a cemetery exhaling vapours which are driven back by the western wind on the town, but it lies in an even plain which is open on all sides to the sun and to the four winds. On account of these mentioned qualities, which are opposite to those of Cairo, the inhabitants of Baghdad require a cooling treatment less than those of Cairo and its environs, and the inhabitants of Cairo are much more in need of it. For these reasons I changed their treatment from hot remedies to cold ones, as is required by the rules of the (medical) art. If my apology has become clear to the least attentive (reader), and it is now evident that he who has hastily attributed errors to me without forming a just opinion, has uttered idle talk — what can the *shaikh* (IR) think of those who play the role of brilliant stars in the universe, in comparison with whose clear-sightedness our eyes are like those of bats in full daylight as compared to those of eagles, especially of an authority like Abû Zaid Hunain ibn Is-hâq through whom Allâh has handed down to mankind the sciences of the Ancients, so that intelligent people are his (spiritual) guests down to this day, supplying themselves from his abundance and living in his veneration. Therefore I was uneasy to see that the *shaikh* (IR) should deny evidence, break agreement and declare wrong his (Hunain's) eminence and the splendour of enlightenment from his light-rays which is testified to by reason and established by arguments."

IB goes on with many flowery phrases to rebuke IR for his lack of veneration for Hippocrates and the other old masters of the medical profession and urges him to convert himself from this offence, so that he may become justified on the Day of Judgment, and not be the cause of error in the young physicians (his pupils). Neglect of the books of the Ancients is deleterious to the patients treated by such ignorant medical men. IB continues as follows:

"I happened to have a controversy with one of them which I shall not forget; it was when I met a young disciple of his (IR) whom I took for a very zealous man. He heard me say that in the nerves of the patient rises a vapour causing a spasm which befalls him in a series of attacks. He did not heed my statement

"They pronounce this judgment without having seen more than one of the two towns, while I have seen both of them. Therefore their judgment in favour of one of the two parties of the lawsuit without having seen the other one is wrong and unjust. The reason of this is the same for which Galen blames the quacks, saying: 'You have never left your home-town, have not travelled, nor experienced the difference of countries: if you had done it you would know the difference between the countries under the *Ursa Minor* and those under the equator.' — Now I will talk a little about both those towns, and I am willing and ready to give information (about them).

(DESCRIPTION OF BAGHDAD) ([16])

"Baghdad is a northern city which has no muddy water and no different kinds of air; during the winter incessant rains prevail. Sometimes even snow falls from heaven, and by the strong cold (the waters on) both banks of the Tigris are frozen; its waters rise with the increase of rainfall. The fruits and flowers of Baghdad grow in their appropriate time in the seasons of the year. Rarely one sees among the inhabitants a mangy or scabby individual, or someone suffering from asthma or eczema. The region of Baghdad is in the centre of a climate about which Aristotle says that it produces intelligent people. Rarely the inhabitants choose for the reproduction of their kind such (female slaves) as have been imported from southern lands. Therefore their faces are white tinged with red, their characters are pure and their natures

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([16]) This is a counterpart to IR's description of the topography of Cairo in his before-mentioned treatise "On the Prevention of the Harm of Bodily Ills in Egypt" (No. 14 of the book-list in his biography by IAU). In the sixth chapter of it IR exposed the situation of Cairo between the Nile, the Muqaṭṭam Hills in the East and the cemetery of al-Qarâfa at its foot. — Roughly one century later, Ibn al-Jawzî (d. 597/1201) wrote a treatise مناقب بغداد "Praise of Baghdad" (ed. by Muḥammad Bahja al-Atharî, Baghdad 1342), in its last chapter, entitled "That Baghdad is superior to the other places", occur remarks similar to this passage of Ibn Buṭlân; but Ibn al-Jawzî evidently had no knowledge of this predecessor.

on the interpretation of (Aristotle's) *Metaphysics* and fell so ill meditating about it that he nearly gave up the ghost. Amongst them — may Allâh have mercy on them! — existed only such men as spent their lives in the pursuit of science and the endeavour to reach the truth, although in their reason actuality prevailed over potentiality. If, however, ourselves in whom potentiality prevails over actuality, insist on attacking them, truth laughs at us and we lose the noblest (quality) which exists in us. Therefore every knowing (human) soul which is inferior in rank to them, must not (hastily) judge them if differences in their sayings are remarked, except when one has assured oneself (of the truth)."

Hereinafter IB shows by numerous examples drawn from the works of Aristotle, Hippocrates and Galen, that it is wrong to suppose the existence of contradictions in the works of the Ancients without looking closely into the matter. For instance: Aristotle states that the heart is the origin of nerves, veins, arteries, bones and of all the various faculties, while Galen finds the origin of the faculties in brain, heart and liver; this divergence of opinion is caused by the difference of their points of view, as Aristotle considers the nature of organs, Galen their function. If Aristotle divides the organs into simple and compound, homogeneous and heterogeneous, while Galen divides them into homogeneous and organic limbs, it is so because Galen derives from his classification the names of diseases. Likewise are to be explained the contradictions in the natural doctrine of Aristotle. IB then asks to be excused if — notwithstanding his inferiority to those great masters — he adds his own defence in regard to attacks directed against him. He had been reproached with having committed mistakes in the treatment of diseases; that he did not consider, in the application of his remedies, the difference of climate between Baghdad and Cairo; and that he ignored the fact that the "cold" remedies were more appropriate to the climate of Baghdad, and the "hot" remedies to that of Cairo [15]. He goes on in the following manner:

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[15] IB has treated the question of the growing predilection of the Baghdad practitioners for a "cool" treatment of most diseases in a monograph, No. 7 of the list of his books in his biography by IAU; see above, p. 65.

SECTION IV. That the Eminent Men when They Read one of the Books of the Ancients were not Accustomed to Deliver Judgments on those Scholars Based on Opinion without Knowing the True Facts.

"The Ancients were in the habit, when they met with problems in which they found incongruities and contradictions, of repeated investigation in order not to compromise by rashness (the solution of) the problem. Aristotle tried to observe the lunar rainbow during the greater part of his life, but only twice succeeded in seing it [9]. And Galen for many years inquired into the interval (diastole of heart and pulse) following on contraction before he was able to find it out [10]. Abu'l-Khair ibn al- Khammâr [11] and Abû 'Alî ibn Zur'a [12] died in sorrow on account of Yahyâ ibn 'Adî's Discourse on the Dumbfounding (striking) Arguments that Refute the Book of *Analytics* (of Aristotle) [13]. And our *shaikh* (master) Abu'l-Faraj 'Abdallâh [14] spent twenty years

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([9]) Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, book III.

([10]) E.g. *Galeni Synopsis Librorum suorum de Pulsibus*, chap. X and XIV. IB's teacher Abu'l-Faraj 'Abdallâh ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib had commented upon this book ("the small book on the pulse") as well as upon "the great book on the pulse", viz. the collection of Galen's other books on the pulse (see IAU, vol. I., p. 241, l. 2 and 6). Thâbit ibn Qurra, the famous Ṣâbi'an physician and astronomer (d. 288/901, see EI s.v.) had composed a treatise on the same problem, "On the Rest in the Interval between two Opposite Movements of the Arteries" (see the detailed information about this book which has not been preserved, in IAU, vol. I., p. 218 below). Thâbit's book was refuted by his contemporary al-Ḥusain ibn Isḥâq ibn Karnîb (IQ p. 169). This is a special case of the general question of two opposite movements following each other, about which IB speaks later on (see p. 101).

([11]) A famous Christian philosopher and pupil of Yaḥyâ ibn 'Adî in Baghdad, later on at the courts of Khwârizm (Khiva) and Ghazna (Afghanistan) where he died after 407/1017.

([12]) 'Isâ ibn Zur'a, another pupil and friend of Yaḥyâ ibn 'Adî, a Christian philosopher and translator of Greek philosophical works (d. 398/1008).

([13]) The author's meaning is not quite clear; he probably wants to say that they could not understand this treatise of Yaḥyâ; see above, p. 47, note 55, and below, p. 109.

([14]) Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib, see above, p. 58 and p. 63 n. 21.

science from (at least) two experienced masters. Another argument is the fact that students, and even scholars, avoid such books as do not bear the signature of the masters, as a testimony that they have been consulted [8]; it is a sufficient proof of the contempt felt for those who have not frequented learned men. This being so, the understanding from the teacher is more rich and fertile (in results) than that from the book, as we have explained by valid arguments and the well-known opinions (of the public). In keeping with this, nobody who loves the sciences should pass his judgment too hastily, as possibly the truth is hidden from him. If it is hidden, he has a wrong knowledge of things and he is, consequent to his belief in the absurdity of truth, exposed to doubts the solution of which is difficult, as we will explain with the help of Allâh. And this is sufficient for our purpose."

SECTION II. That the Doubts of Him who Wrongly Interprets Problems from Books are Difficult to Set at Rest, According to His (inferior) Knowledge.

In this chapter IB explains at first the *circulus vitiosus* of wrong knowledge and of doubt; he compares it to the *circulus vitiosus* existing in melancholics between "black bile" and evil thought, and to the state of a sufferer from hydrophobia who fears the water and dies, though the drinking of water could save his life.

SECTION III. That it is Easier to Establish the Truth in the Reason of Him who is not Affected by Absurdity than in the Reason of Him who is so Affected.

IB gives here three logical arguments, in the manner of his argumentation in Section I.

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[8] The learned men of Islam used to testify by their signature *(ijâza)* in scientific books that the disciple had studied the book in question under the direction of the master. See an example of this above, p. 58.

even if he does not know the subject-matter of the context better than the reader.

6) "The sixth argument runs as follows: In books we meet with things which render knowledge more difficult and which do not exist in the oral instruction by the teacher. They are: the ambiguity of terms used; miswritings by the confounding of letters without diacritical points, by (copyists') mistakes and by the deviation of the (copyist's) eye; the ignorance of (grammatical) desinences (which are often not written); the absence of vowel signs or their corruption in case they have been put in; moreover, the habit of copyists of writing what is not to be pronounced and pronouncing what is not written; then, the style of exposition, the manner of expression and the fashion of the author; further, the corruption of the manuscripts and the faulty transmission; the insufficient indication of the places of stops; the entanglement of principles in exposition; the occurrence of words which are scientific technical terms; and the mention of words in Greek which have not been translated by the translator. All this diverts (the reader) from knowledge; but the student who reads aloud in the presence of a teacher is spared this trouble. This being so, reading with learned men is better and more profitable than reading by oneself in a book. It is this that we wished to explain; and we pass now to a seventh argument which you will, I believe, acknowledge as being valid.

7) "(This argument is based on) that which the commentators have said about the substitution of the simple negative by the modified affirmative [7]; for they agree that this section would have never been understood by reading of the book, had not Aristotle's disciples Theophrastus and Eudemus heard it explained by their master. If it is so, the understanding from the teacher is better than that from the book.

"We will make this still clearer by arguments from well-known opinions: A sufficient argument is the assertion of the public that X. is not able to read correctly if he has not frequented learned men, and that Y. makes mistakes in reading if he did not learn

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([7]) See the Arabic *Dictionary of Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmans*, Calcutta 1862 (Bibliotheca Indica), p. 1017.

and that is a simile for that which is conveyed by speech. Therefore the book is the simile of the simile of the simile of ideas which are in the reason. So, if even the first simile cannot be a (full) substitute for the subject of the comparison, on account of the inadequacy of comparison, what shall we think about the third-degree-simile of the subject of the comparison ? The first simile of the word which exists in the reason is closer with regard to understanding than the simile of the simile; the first simile is the speech, and the second simile is the book. As this is so, understanding from the word of the teacher is easier and closer than that from the words of the book. Our *shaikh* (master) [6] — may Allâh have mercy on him! — used to say: The transmission from the book to the reason of words expressive of notions, is effected by means of a sense which is alien to the word, viz. the vision; for the sense which is homogeneous to the word is the sense of hearing, as it (the word) is an expression by sounds. That which proceeds from the homogeneous, viz. the word, arrives (at its destination) more directly than that which proceeds from the alien, viz. the writing. Therefore the understanding from the teacher by the spoken word is easier than that from the book by the written letter.

5) "The reading aloud of the book by the student in the presence of the teacher transmits knowledge to the student through the sense of hearing by the word of the teacher (i.e. his explanatory remarks), and (at the same time) through the sense of vision by the written words of the book. But the transmission from the book (alone) transmits to him knowledge only by means of one sense, which is alien to the words, viz. the vision. That which is transmitted by two senses one of which is homogeneous, viz. the spoken word, is surer than that which is transmitted only by one, an alien, sense, viz. the written letter. Therefore understanding from the teacher by means of the word is easier and surer than understanding from the book by means of the written letter. Therefore he who hears something read to him understands more of it than the reader and corrects him when he makes mistakes,

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(6) Meant is Ibn Buṭlân's famous teacher in Baghdad, 'Abdallâh ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib; see p. 63, n. 21.

on the way of progress and assist him so that he may reach his aims!"

SECTION I. On the Causes why He who Learns from Oral Instruction by Teachers Learns Better and more Easily than He who Learns from Books, Given that the Receptive Faculty of Both of them be the Same. We will forward a number of reasons for this opinion.

1) "The first reason is the following: The transmission of opinions is effected from the homogeneous (cognate) to the homogeneous. The homogeneous of the rational being, viz. the student, is likewise something rational, viz. the teacher; but the heterogeneous (not-cognate) is something inanimate, viz. the book. Now, the distance of the inanimate from the rational lengthens the path of understanding, and the proximity of one rational to another rational facilitates understanding. Therefore understanding from the homogeneous, viz. the teacher, is better, easier and closer than that from the heterogeneous, viz. the book.

2) "If the words of the teacher are not understood by the student the teacher can substitute for them other words; but in the case of the book words cannot be substituted for others. All which is of that (first) kind is more fitted for the transmission of knowledge to the student. Therefore learning from the teacher is more suitable to him than that from books.

3) "The knowing soul is actually knowing and the proceeding of (that) actuality from it is called "teaching." The learning soul is potentially knowing, and the reception of instruction by it is called "learning." Teaching and learning are correlative and have a natural reciprocal relation. Everything which belongs to something by natural correlation is cognate to it more specifically than that which does not belong to it by its nature. Therefore learning from a teacher belongs more specifically to the student than that from a book.

4) "The subject-matter of knowledge is articulate speech, and speech is of three kinds: firstly, that which is near to reason, i.e. that which the reason forms as a simile for the notions which exist in it; secondly, intermediate, i.e. that which is pronounced by the voice, and that is a simile for the things formed by the reason; and thirdly, remote, i.e. that which is deposited in books,

learned that he had said defiantly : 'He may ask me a thousand questions and I will ask him one question only!' (2). If I wished to explain this thoroughly I should do it, but

My people, oh Umaima, have killed my brother,
And when I shoot, my arrow will hit myself (3).

For I consider him and the community in their relation to myself as primary vital organs which may be at one time sick and at one time healthy. I did not deviate from this conduct, until I received an order from one in high place (4) which I could not disobey nor postpone, namely to compose this discourse. So I composed it in seven sections (فصل *fasl*)."

Now follows the enumeration of the seven sections and their contents, slightly different from their titles as given later on in the text. IB repeats that he has composed this discourse only by an imperative order and adjures IR "by the God in Heaven and by the monotheism of the philosophers," (4*), not to be abusive and to answer the questions put to him with a pure mind and without wrath. He goes on:

"Says Themistius (5) : 'The hearts of philosophers are temples of the Lord; therefore they must be pure like God's houses.' Says Pythagoras: 'In the same way in which common people believe that the Creator is only in temples and behave well when in these, so he who knows that God is everywhere, must behave in any place as common people behave in temples.' May Allâh — may He be exalted! — help him to abandon his wrath, lead him

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(2) This refers to a written remark made by IR before the composition of his discourse No. II. See below, p. 96, n. 34.

(3) A verse (in the metre *kâmil*) by al-Ḥârith b. Wa'la al-Jarmi from the famous anthology of Arabic poems الحماسة *al-Hamâsa* of Abû Tammâm (ed. Freytag, Bonn 1826, p. 96).

(4) Perhaps the vizier mentioned in the first treatise (see above, p. 70).

(4*) Evidently an allusion to the title of a treatise of IR (No. 89 of the book-list given by IAU, above, p. 48).

(5) A Hellenistic philosopher and epitomizer of Aristotle, living mainly in Constantinople under the reign of the Emperor Arcadius (395-408 A.D.).

III. THE THIRD TREATISE.

A Second Discourse by al-Mukhtâr ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sa'dûn ibn 'Abdûn ibn Buṭlân in Refutation of 'Ali ibn Riḍwân.

"He called it 'The Egyptian Discourse', because he composed it in Fustât (Old Cairo) in the year 441 (= 1050 A.D.). He interwove into it questions and discussions representing answers to the sayings of Ibn Ridwân in his *Risâla* ("missive") in which he had intended to refute him."

He (IB) says : "The claim to fellowship in the arts and participation in the branches (of science) is based on ethics and moral obligations, notions of honour and virtues. The least of their obligations is full justice, and one of their duties is the avoiding of injustice and exaggeration. Now, my master, the excellent *shaikh* — may Allâh grant him his continuous help and lead him on the path to truth ! — makes such allegations in regard to me that I could almost think him to be right, if I measure his words by the heat of his temper, to which I am accustomed ; but if I measure them by the knowledge with which Allâh has endowed him, then I must surely declare them to be lies. Anyhow, in both cases I think it is the only right way and a necessary obligation, to overlook his pungent phrases and his violent action, as I trust for his return to truth, in spite of his inclination to idle uproar, and as I am sure that he will finally come to justness in appreciation, although he launches forth into aimless phraseology, especially as I did not make use of this as a reason for our separation and only strove after everything that was likely to promote love and consideration. I did not enter into rivalry with him, neither in an easy nor in a difficult question, but he — may Allâh grant him his continuous help ! — is in this controversy my Juhaina [1]. I received from him questions and I answered them immediately, but abstained until now from sending the answers to him, because I wished to continue friendly relations. Then I

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[1] I.e. a false friend: a man of the Arabian tribe of Juhaina is related to have treacherously killed his fellow-traveller, a man of the Banû Kilâb. See *Tâj al-'Arûs*, vol. IX, p. 162 foll.

the excellence of the pigeon. And in the same manner IR refutes one by one all the arguments given by IB in favour of the cock.

At the end of his discourse, IR concludes his attack in the following form : "I will tell you a story which will make you laugh : I once had in my house a prominent visitor who happened to see IB's discourse and the passage 'honoured by the (religious) laws.' Thereupon he said : 'I think he means by this the Throne (*'arsh*) which causes by its crowing all the cocks to crow' ([5]). Then we laughed all together." A few lines later, IR continues : "I swear by Allâh that the following story is true : It happened that a *shaikh* and some other persons were present in my house. One of my companions took IB's discourse and read from it that passage (concerning brooding). When the *shaikh* and company heard that — and the *shaikh* had a special knowledge of the hatching of the eggs of fowl and of pigeons and had applied himself to this business during many years ([6]) — he said, and all said the same with loud voices : 'By Allâh, he who utters such opinions is a liar', and we all laughed heartily about it."

At the very end of his discourse, IR cursorily refers to what he calls the 'idle talk' of IB without entering into the particulars of his eighty-one questions in the fourth and last chapter.

"End of the Discourse of the Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan 'Alî ibn Ridwân exposing the nonsense, the idle talk and the futilities of the utterings of al-Mukhtâr ibn al-Hasan which are pure sophistry, and some of his erroneous beliefs and untrue opinions which I have found out. Allâh knows best the truth."

كتاب كامل الصناعة (ed. Bûlâq 1294), vol. II, p. 282, l. 12-3, and Ibn Sînâ, *Qânûn* (ed. Bûlaq 1294), vol. II, p. 128 (فصل في الطارقة).

([5]) This refers to Allâh's throne mentioned in the Qur'ân; it was identified by the philosophers of Islam with the Supreme Sphere *(falak al-aflâk)* which indicates the revolution of time and played a great part in the Islamic mysticism. The meaning here is that, according to the religious law, not the cock but Allâh's throne is to be considered as time-giver.

([6]) The Egyptians have always been reputed for their skill in artificial hatching.

Animalium. He criticises the five arguments from IB's second chapter in a petulant way, while he charges on the other hand his adversary with "sophistical errors." He mentions on this occasion the *Isagoge* of Porphyry several times. He proceeds to criticise with great length the four premises in IB's third chapter, and says that IB did not understand the passages concerned in Galen's *Ars Parva* and *De Temperamentis*. IR goes on to refute IB's nine arguments with still greater length. Contrary to IB's assertion, IR considers cock and hen as the most indocile of birds. IB's affirmation is perhaps caused by the fact that certain street-jugglers used to put into the ears of cocks mercury or something similar, so that they lose their equilibrium, fall, stand up and turn round, giving to IB the impression of dancing. As to the reason of the cock's crowing at certain hours, Aristotle has explained it in his 'Natural Questions.' Whether the male bird takes part in the brooding or not depends only on the duration of the absence of the female during her search for food. As to the feeding of the chicken, IB has not understood Hippocrates in *De Alimentis*. His ignorance is unworthy of a man who pretends to emulate the Ancients. IR continues: "The offering of a cock is no proof of the fact that he was worshipped; for in our religion the sheep is not worshipped although the religious law orders us to kill the animal as offering." IR doubts, moreover, whether the narrative of Socrates' last words is authentic. "IB's affirmation that the cock is 'worshipped by the Manichaeans' is a lie; for this sect does not worship the cock, but, according to the information which has come down to us, all they say is that it is prohibited to kill cocks." After this passage IR criticises in detail with many repetitions the summary of IB concerning the noble qualities of the cock: he refutes again IB's opinion about the docility of the cock and his alleged knowledge of the time; if the cock reveals himself to be an astronomer by his crowing, there are other birds who possess the same quality; if the broth of cocks is good against colics, the feather of pigeons is a remedy against ecchymosis of the eye [1]; this would speak in favour of

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[1] The blood extracted from the feathers pulled out of young pigeons was considered by Greek and Arabic oculists, as a good remedy for extravasated blood in the eye. See, e.g., 'Alî ibn al-'Abbâs,

to al-Yabrûdî's question was put down in writing, and thinks that it is useless to waste time with answering sophistical questions like that. The real issue is to be put in the following way : Which of the two birds is colder in its relation to the human body ? If the narrative concerning al-Yabrûdî is true the latter will probably have put the question in this manner. IR continues to criticise IB's words in the same style and to direct personal attacks against him ; he reproaches him with deviating from the doctrines of the Ancients and with speaking out continually just what comes to his tongue. Therefore the learned men of the 'Irâq used to call him *'atlân* (عطلان "good for nothing"). It is certain, according to IR, that al-Yabrûdî has not put any enigmas to the Egyptian physicians, because he would have proposed them first of all to IR, which he did not. It may be that al-Yabrûdî put an enigma while he himself did not believe in its apparent consequence, in order to test the knowledge of his opponent. IR continues his polemics, endlessly repeating himself, and says : "I wonder how it happens that he (IB) has no knowledge of himself ; I can only compare him to a man who was a lawyer (*faqîh*), but who abandoned jurisprudence and pretended to be a poet, so that he drivelled out sentences day and night and believed them to be poems, although they did not conform to any one of the poetical metres nor exhibit any of the poetical particularities of style. The people, however, could realise that the man in question was confused and subject to evil suggestions (of Satan). But of this man (IB) who talks like that, nobody except myself and the 'Irâqians who called him a "good-for-nothing" realised that something is wrong with his mind. The cause of this is that people neglect the sciences of the Ancients. Did not they observe him in matters of medicine where he knows one prescription only, with which he treats both the old and the young, the townsman and the villager, the hot and the cold disease and any and all diseases ? Is not this a sufficient indication that this man has no knowledge nor insight and that all his utterings are mere idle talk which he delivers in a thoughtless manner?"

IR confesses himself convinced of the uselessness of his polemics with IB, but wishes to terminate the once-begun controversy. He speaks on the pigeon, its generation and its warmth in relation to that of the man, citing passages from Galen's *De Simplici Medicina* and *De Alimentis*, and Aristotle's *De Generatione*

Then I undertook, reluctantly, to answer it [1]. Consequently, if this answer makes him vexed and angry, he must not blame me, but himself, if the blunder and the mistake is on his side; if it is on my side he may divulge it and make it known amongst the people."

IR continues that IB called himself the Christian physician of Baghdad (*at-tabîb an-nasrânî al-Baghdâdî*). According to Galen only he is a perfect physician who is at the same time a philosopher [2]. He only is a real physician (طبيب *tabîb*), while someone without philosophical education is only a medical practitioner (متطبب *mutatabbib*). The *tabîb* must be learned in the mathematical, natural, theological and logical sciences. IB is trained at best only in logic, medicine and natural history; but with this he still is not a *tabîb*; a *tabîb* requires a perfect knowledge in all branches. IB was not in need of telling us that he is a Christian and of Baghdad; that is a known fact. IR goes on to IB's remark that al-Yabrûdî had put his question to the Egyptian physicians and says : "I have seen al-Yabrûdî and have had intercourse with him; he was one of my friends until he died: I am also an Egyptian, and he has never put to me that question, although he often used to discuss with me scientific matters. There are, moreover, many physicians in Misr and Qâhira (Old and New Cairo) [3] which al-Yabrûdî has not met at all, and still less put to them the enigma in question. Consequently, the assertion that he had put the question to *all* the Egyptian doctors is a lie." IR goes on to criticise the manner in which Ibn Butlân had formulated the problem in question and reproaches him with lack of logic. He then considers IB's words one by one in a hair-splitting manner. He doubts IB's affirmation that the answer

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(1) Compare with this IR's different narrative at the beginning of the fifth treatise (below, p. 113). It should be noted, too, that IR's quotations from IB are not always literal, sometimes even distorted on purpose.

(2) Galen wrote a special treatise on this question: *Quod Optimus Medicus sit quoque Philosophus*. It is printed in Kühn's great edition of Galen's works (*Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, vol. I, Leipzig 1821, p. 53-63).

(3) See above, p. 70, n. 1.

the bird who is warm must brood, while the fish, being cold and living in a cold medium, must not brood? And so on.

At the end of the treatise IB declares once more that he has written it for the profit of the students, as an exercise for the teachers and as a rebuke for him who caused the composition of the treatise (11). He continues : "Allâh returns to him who pretends to help Nature while he is sinning against it, the due reward on the Day (of Judgment) when the Creator sits to enforce the claims of the patients against their ignorant doctors; when the recording angels look up (in the celestial book) the condition of each sufferer, and (even) the urinals bear evidence of the mistakes (of the physicians) and inform them of their excesses (in faulty treatment). At that day, woe to the idle talkers who have neglected their (scientific) weapons, have turned to ignorance and have shunned knowledge, 'on the day when wealth shall profit not, nor sons, but only he who cometh to Allâh' (12), with a sure knowledge."

"End of the Discourse on the Fact that the Chicken is of Warmer Nature than the Young of the Bird, composed by Abu'l-Hasan al-Mukhtâr ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Abdûn ibn Sa'dûn ibn Butlân — praise be to Allâh."

II. THE SECOND TREATISE.

Discourse of the Shaikh Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Ali ibn Riḍwân Explaining the Mistakes in the Sayings of al-Mukhtâr ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abdûn of Baghdad.

"In the Name of Allâh, the Merciful, the Compassionate ! Says 'Alî ibn Ridwân : I have read the discourse of the *shaikh* (Ibn Butlân) — may Allâh prolong his life! — which he has sent to me in his own handwriting and which he invited me to answer. I informed him that I was too occupied to reply, but he insisted.

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(11) The Egyptian physician mentioned in the first chapter, very probably a pupil of Ibn Riḍwân.

(12) Qur'ân, Sûra XXVI, v. 88-9.

the cock-pigeon. It has also become evident by our third premise that the relation of the cock to the cock-pigeon is the same as that of the chicken to the young of the bird. If it is thus evident that the cock is warmer than the cock-pigeon, then the chicken must be warmer than the young bird. *Quod erat demonstrandum.*"

IB then applies this manner of argumentation to other kinds of animals and maintains e.g. that even the young bird, and the more so the chicken is of warmer nature than the buffalo and the camel, as it has a quicker digestion, and "warmth is the instrument of the digestive faculty." Therefore Nature has provided the other animals with a separate outlet for secretion of the watery residue, but in the case of the chicken (and the other birds) has kept food and liquid together, on account of its (the chicken's) excessive heat.

CHAPTER 4 : Discussion of Questions Pertaining to Egg, Brooding and Chickens (10).

"After having quoted and refuted the opinion of those who maintain that the young of the bird is warmer than the chicken and having furnished in the place of al-Yabrûdî strong proofs to the contrary...., we now begin to enjoy the gardens of the intellect and to pick the fruits of science. Our aim in this is to reveal the secrets of Nature concerning the egg and connected matters. We shall put attractive questions which we will at first enumerate, and then, if it is Allâh's will, answer, after the physicians will have revealed in a scientific manner the false conclusions in these analogies, viz. in all the questions and problems which we discuss about oviparous animals, about the properties of the egg, about brooding by animals and about chickens and young birds..... On these four subject-matters eighty-one questions are to be raised."

Many of these questions are connected with the zoological works of Aristotle, e.g. : Which black animals are laying white eggs from which are hatched black young ones ? Why is it that

(10) This title is again omitted in the text and has been restored by us from the introduction.

sacrified in the temples to the stars, is honoured in the religious laws and venerated by the Manichaeans. This was done only on account of an excellent quality existing in him which provoked the desire of mankind to venerate him. But the hen is forbidden (for eating) in the doctrine of the Harrânian philosophers [8], maybe on account of certain prescriptions of their law, or on account of her nocivity to the human nature. This ought to be sufficient to set at rest this doubt."

"We will now recapitulate the result of all the foregoing and add some more arguments. Consequently, we say : it is evident that the cock treads (the hen) oftener, fertilizes more eggs, has more hens, is more choleric, more jealous, more generous with his food and more docile, and that he knows better the course of the sun in the heaven (than the pigeon) ; moreover, that his testicles serve (as a remedy) to provoke sperm, that broth made from him soothes hepatic colics, that (physicians) test by means of him (the qualities of) poisons, remedies and mummy for the setting of broken bones [9], that he picks up (his food) alone and does not require feeding by his parents, that he eats the fleshy parts of herbs as well as seeds, that he does not stay at one place, on account of his excessive heat, and that the brooding (of his chickens) is effected by the hen alone ; for if the cock in his turn took part with the brooding the chicken would be burnt by the excess of heat. Moreover, that he is more downy when hatched from the egg, that his excrements are more stinking, are more yellow, namely pale yellowish, and that he is honoured by the (religious) law of the (heathen) philosophers, while the male pigeon has the contrary of all these qualities. It has become evident that he is possessed, for all these reasons, of a strongly warm nature and, consequently, has more excellent qualities than

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in which he recommended to his friends to sacrifice a cock to Asclepius.

[8] A sect of Star-worshippers in Mesopotamia with the town Ḥarrân as centre, who were well acquainted with Greek science. They are also called Ṣâbi'ans (see EI s.v. al-Ṣâbi'a). See, further, below p. 102.

[9] The resin obtained from Egyptian mummies was a reputed remedy, especially for healing fractured bones, even in Europe down to the XIXth century.

CHAPTER 3 : Preliminary Mention of Principles about which there Exists no Doubt among Learned Men and from which we Derive Conclusions to Prove the Contrary of the Opinion of Physicians; as well, Discussion of Doubts and Objections Raised in the Course of this Explanation. [4]

IB furnishes in this chapter proofs for al-Yabrûdî's opinion, showing at first four premises and then the arguments proper. They are nine in number, and we give a translation only of the third argument as an example to show the manner of scholastic logical argumentation of that day.

"The third argument: The cock is docile owing to his delicate constitution; he knows how many hours of day and night have passed, and this is due to his excellent insight. He crows when the sun is rising and setting and in the fourth and the tenth (section of he night) and midway between the two [5]. The pigeon is not endowed with any such qualities. Consequently, the cock is of sharper intelligence, purer substance and more delicate constitution: these qualities belong to the effects of a warm nature. Therefore the cock is warmer than the pigeon. If someone objects that the carrier-pigeon is more delicate on account of its capacity of travelling and quick return we answer that the cock if he had been fitted by nature with lighter plumage and a smaller stature, would be able to fly still farther in the countries and to return quicker (than the pigeon)."

In the ninth argument IB intends to follow Aristotle and Galen who not only used to adduce purely scientific logical proofs, but also took into consideration the arguments based upon common opinion. Therefore, he continues : "We see that the cock is honoured by the (religious) law of the (heathen) philosophers [6], so that Socrates before his death stipulated in his will that a slave should kill a cock in the temple of Apollo [7]. He was, moreover,

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(4) This is the title of the chapter according to the preface; it is omitted by the author IB in the text.

(5) Actually the cocks in Egypt and in other Oriental countries crow about midnight.

(6) Compare IB's reference to the "monotheism of the philosophers" at the beginning of the third treatise, below p. 82.

(7) This is a slightly distorted reference to Socrates' last words

partner of the couple, and the colder one, as appears from the parallel case of the female of the pigeon, and which has no substitute during the search for food — does not require feeding by crumbs collected by the parents, as e.g. the fowl, partridge and francolin. He then asked me about the answer, but I informed him that this was a question of natural history and beyond the range of understanding of those who are not trained in the logical sciences." For, IB says, among the physicians there are practitioners (*'ammâl*) and scientists (*'allâm*), and he continues: "Upon this he (the physician) went away not being able to answer anything. Later on I heard that the poor fellow had told a lie (about this), from which I concluded that he was ignorant of Aristotle's saying: 'Beware of lies, for the liar tells his lies out of meanness of spirit, from silliness of mind and from ignorance of the bad consequences of the recoil of lies on his own head. For the first thing which happens to the liar when he is unmasked is, that he is not believed no matter what he says, and that he frustates his aim, like someone who intends to go to the East and turns off to the West.' And Homer has said : 'There is nothing meaner than the lie, and there is no good at all in a man who tells lies.' Then I began to find strange the method of al-Yabrûdî in putting the (afore-mentioned) question, as he neither backed it up by arguments nor broke a lance in its defence. We will begin with the mention and the refutation of the true opinion, not that we really believed (the arguments), but as it were as a test for clear intelligences in face of dark and doubtful questions."

CHAPTER 2 : On the Argument of Those who Maintain that the Young Bird is of Warmer Nature than the Chicken, and its Refutation.

In this chapter IB details the following: Those who affirm that the young of the bird is warmer than the chicken suppose that the warmth of the first is stronger, but that at the same time it is more moist and that this humidity of temperament causes the lack of movement in the young bird; only after having reached a certain degree of dryness they are capable of voluntary motion. IB then refutes this opinion by five arguments.

of the young bird, on account of the quickness of the chicken's movement, and that of the young bird colder on account of the slowness of its movements. I told him (the physician) : That is a well-known question, and the answer is put down in writing (3). But the real and fine question is: Why does the young come forth from each egg which is brooded in turns by male and female, in a weak state and requiring feeding, as is the case with the pigeon and the sparrow; while the young hatched from an egg which has been sat on by the female alone — which is the weaker

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(3) The relation of warmness and movement in animals has been often discussed by Aristotle, e.g. in his *De Partibus Animalium*, III, 6; IV 6, 10, 13.

The problem of the development of the chicken and the young of the bird did not fail to interest the cultivated men of the Islamic period, even outside the circles of the specialists. So, for example, the Persian historian 'Alî ibn Zaid al-Baihaqî (d. 565/1170) relates in his "History of Learned Men of Islam" تاريخ حكماء الاسلام (more correctly called "Supplement to the Ṣiwân al-Ḥikma" (تتمة صوان الحكمة) the following anecdote from the famous 'Umar-i-Khayyâm, whom he knows only as a mathematician but not as a poet (see Muḥammad Shafî', *The Author of the Oldest Biographical Notice of 'Umar Khayyâm and the Notice in Question*, in *Islamic Culture* vol. VI [Hyderabad Deccan 1932], p. 606) : "The Imâm 'Omar related one day to my father (Abu'l-Qâsim Zaid al-Baihaqî) the following: I was present at the court of Sultan Malikshâh (the governor of Nisâbûr from 465/1072 to 488/1092) when a child came in — he was the son of one of the *amirs* — and paid his homage in an approved manner, at which I was surprised, for he was so young. At this the Sultan said to me : This is no matter for surprise, for a chicken begins to pick up the grain from the ground instinctively, as soon as its egg-shell is cracked, yet it cannot find its way home. On the other hand, the young pigeon does not pick the grains until it is taught to do so, being fed with the bill, and yet becomes a carrier-pigeon, capable of leading the way, and flies from Mecca to Baghdad. I wondered at these remarks of the Sultan. Every great person is inspired."

On the other hand, the famous polyhistor as-Suyûṭî (d. 911/1505) wrote a treatise entitled, on account of the rhyme, كتاب الوديك في فضل الديك *Kitâb al-Wadîk fî Faḍl ad-Dîk*, "The Porridge-meal, on the Excellence of the Cock" (printed in Cairo, 1322), a compilation of traditions, anecdotes and verses; but it appears that he was not acquainted with this problem at all.

The Five Treatises

I. THE FIRST TREATISE.

Discourse of Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Mukhtâr ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʻAbdûn ibn Saʻdûn on the Fact that the Chicken is of Warmer Nature than the Young of the Bird.

"Our aim in this discourse is to refute him who maintains that the young bird is of warmer nature than the chicken, by logical arguments based on true premises from which it can be concluded that the chicken is of warmer nature than the young bird; this is contrary to the opinion of medical men. We have composed it as a kind of (intellectual) illusionist's trick"; it ought to be useful to students as spiritual training and gymnastics, to learned men as a material on which they may show their ability, and to ignorant people as a means of rebuke. The author then gives the division of the treatise into four chapters and complains about a time in which learning is almost a disqualification and about a country in which a learned man is not put on even an equal footing with the ignorant.

CHAPTER 1 : On the Reason for the Composition of this Treatise.

"A certain physician related in the Vizier's Palace in the Cairo of al-Muʻizz (1) about the physician al-Yabrûdi (2) that he had put to the Egyptian doctors an enigma which led them to the conclusion that the nature of the chicken ought to be warmer than that

(1) Al-Muʻizz li-Dîni'llâh was the fourth Fâṭimid Caliph; he conquered Egypt in 358/969 and founded in the same year al-Qâhira (Cairo) to the north of the Old Town (Miṣr).

(2) See his biography in the foregoing section (No. VII).

he got rid of a beginning erysipelas [10] by cold water treatment. IAU concludes his paragraph as follows:

[p. 143] Al-Yabrûdî died in Damascus in the year four hundred and ...... (gap in the text) and was buried in the Jacobite church near the gate of St. Thomas. (There follows a chain of authorities going back to) Ibn al-Kattânî who was at that time governor in the service of the Sultan in Damascus; he told me : I learnt that Abu'l-Faraj Jawarjîs ibn Yûhannâ al-Yabrûdî left at his death an estate of 300 Byzantine (dinars), clipped but of uniform purity, and 500 pieces of silver, the purest of which had the value of 300 *dirham* (drachms). Muwaffaq ad-Dîn ibn al-Matrân [11] (one of the authorities cited) remarked on this : "That is not much; for if a person does his job well, has pure intentions, desires truth, acts correctly and takes pains to know well his profession, it is (as it were) an obligation for Allâh to grant him his livelihood; if on the other hand it is to the contrary, one lives in poverty, and dies in misery."

Al-Yabrûdî composed a "Discourse on the Fact that the Young Bird is of Colder Constitution than the Chicken," in which he refuted the opinion of Ibn al-Muwaffaqî [12] as expressed in a dispute between them concerning the pulse.

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(10) *Máshard*, from Syriac *máshrá*.

(11) A famous Christian physician and professor of Medicine in Damascus (d. 597/1191) and teacher of IAU's professor ad-Dakhwâr (see LECL., vol. II, p. 43-5).

(12) A physician who is, as far as we know, not otherwise mentioned in the Arabic literature.

of the scientific rules of Medicine, and had tried to treat sick people and had seen the varieties of diseases, their causes and symptoms, and had arrived at technical knowledge about their treatment, he asked who was the foremost man of the day in the medical art and possessing a profound knowledge of it. He was told that there was in Baghdad Abu'l-Faraj ibn at-Tayyib (6) the secretary of the Catholicos (7), that he was a trained philosopher and that he had an excellent skill of the art of Medicine and of other branches of science. He then prepared for his journey, took a bracelet that had belonged to his mother to provide for his expenses, set out for Baghdad and spent what was necessary for his needs. He worked with Ibn at-Tayyib until he became skilled in the medical art, made fundamental investigations and acquired a profound knowledge in this art. He studied also some logic and some philosophical sciences, and then returned to Damascus where he settled down.

IAU then gives another version of this story which he had from his old professor of medicine in Damascus, Muhadhdhib ad-Dîn 'Abd ar-Rahîm b. 'Alî (8), and then continues :

I say: Al-Yabrûdî had a correspondence with Ibn Ridwân of Cairo and other Egyptian physicians, put to them different medical questions and made minute inquiries. He copied with his own hand very many medical books, especially the books of Galen, their commentaries and summaries.

Now follow several anecdotes about al-Yabrûdî's medical skill: how he saved a glutton (9), and a man apparently dead, and how

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(6) See above, p. 63, n. 21.

(7) This was the title of the primate of the Nestorian church in Mesopotamia.

(8) For this scholar who is known as ad-Dakhwâr, see M. MEYERHOF, *Ibn an-Nafis und seine Theorie des Lungenkreislaufs*, in Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin, vol. III (Berlin 1933), p. 43 foll.

(9) IAU relates on this occasion a similar story about Abû Ja'far Ahmad ibn Muhammad, known as Ibn Abi'l-Ash'ath (d. after 360/971; see IAU, vol. I, p. 245-7), where the vivisection of an animal in the presence of the emir 'Uddat ad-Dawla al-Ghadanfar (see ZAMBAUR, p. 133, No. 120, 2) is mentioned.

Christians. Al-Yabrûdî, like the rest of the Christian inhabitants there, was occupied with agriculture and farming work. He collected, moreover, wormwood (4) from the outskirts of Damascus in the direction of his village. He then loaded it on a beast of burden and carried it to the inner town of Damascus to sell it to people who used it as fuel in their ovens and elsewhere. One day, when he had passed through the Gate of St. Thomas (5) in Damascus having with him his (usual) load of wormwood, he saw an old medical practitioner, who treated a man who had a violent bleeding at the nose, by a venesection at a place which was parallel to the direction from which came the blood. Al-Yabrûdî stopped and looked at the scene; then he said : "Why do you bleed this man whose blood is already flowing more than it should flow, by a venesection?". The physician informed him that he did so in order to cut off the flow of blood from the nose and to turn it away in a direction parallel to that from which it came. Al-Yabrûdî replied : "If it is as you say I must tell you that in my part of the country (we do the very opposite) : When we wish to divert the water from a flowing river's bed, we are used to dig the new bed in another direction which is not parallel to the old. So the river is stopped in its course at the place in question and turned away to the other place. Why do not you do the same in this case and bleed him at the other place?". The physician did so and the nasal haemorrhage was staunched. When the practitioner realised from al-Yabrûdi's question that he possessed a clear insight, he told him : "If you would occupy yourself with Medicine you would become a good physician." Upon this al-Yabrûdî was inclined to follow his advice and in his soul grew strong the desire of knowledge. [p. 141] So he returned from time to time to the old man (the physician) who taught him and showed him several things concerning medical treatment. Later on he left Yabrûd and his (former) occupation and settled down in Damascus, in order to study Medicine. After he had acquired some insight into the matter and gained some knowledge

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(4) In Arabic شيح *shîh* (Artemisia Herba alba Asso), a plant of the deserts.

(5) In Arabic Bâb Tûmâ, a gate in the north-west of Damascus.

author, Iohannes the Physician known as al-Mukhtâr ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Abdûn, in the Convent of the (divinely) appointed King (Emperor) Constantine (situated) outside of Constantinople, at the end of the month Eylûl of the year 1365 ([38])" ; such are his words; that corresponds to the Islamic date 450 ([39]),

11. The Conflict of the Physicians,
12. The Priests' Dinner-Party,
13. Discourse on the treatment of a boy who suffered from a calculus.

VII. BIOGRAPHY OF AL-YABRUDI BY IBN ABI USAIBI'A, *'UYUN AL-ANBA'*

(ed. Cairo 1299/1882, vol. II, p. 140-3)

Al-Yabrûdî. He is Abu'l-Faraj Jawarjîs (George) ibn Yûhannâ ibn Sahl ibn Ibrâhîm, a Jacobite Christian. He was prominent in the medical art, learned in its principles and branches, and was numbered among its eminent representatives, and among its distinguished masters. He worked continuously, loved science and aspired to achieve prominence. I have been told by Sharaf ad-Dîn ibn 'Innîn ([1]) — may Allâh have mercy on him ! — that al-Yabrûdî was an incessant worker and never tired of work, and he said : Even in his leisure hours we never saw him without a book before him in which he studied. A Christian of Damascus, the physician as-Sanî al-Ba'labakki ([2]), has told me the following: Al-Yabrûdî was born and brought up in his early years at Yabrûd. This is a large village near Saidanâyâ ([3]) where are many

([38]) According to the Seleucid Era which begins in 311 B.C.; it corresponds to the year 1058 A.D.

([39]) This book has been commented upon by 'Alî ibn Hibatallâh ibn Ithridî, a physician of Baghdad who lived in the VI/XIIth century; see IAU, I, 297 foll.

([1]) A poet mentioned several times by IAU.

([2]) A medical practitioner whom IAU cites several times as source of his information.

([3]) See Yâqût, *Geography*, vol IV, p. 1005 and vol. III, p. 441.

7. Discourse on the reason why the skilled physicians have changed the treatment of most diseases which were formerly treated with hot remedies, advising in their stead a cooling treatment, e.g. for plegia, facial paralysis, paresis and others, and why they disagree with the rules laid down by the Ancients in compendiums (*kanânîsh*) and pharmacopoeias (*aqrâbâdhînât*) (33), and how this (new system) has gradually gained ground in the 'Irâq and adjacent countries from the beginning of the year 377 down to the year 455 (34); Ibn Butlân has composed this discourse at Antioch in 455 when he was entrusted with the construction of the hospital of Antioch (35),
8. Discourse on the refutation of those who pretend that the young bird is hotter than the chicken, in logical method; he composed it in Cairo in 441 (36),
9. Introduction to Medicine,
10. The Medical Dinner-Party: he composed it for the emir Nasîr (*sic*) ad-Dawla Abû Nasr Ahmad ibn Marwân (37); I copied the following autograph note (colophon) of Ibn Butlân at the end of the book : "I finished the copy, I the

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(33) *Kunnâsh* (plur. *kanânish* and *kanâ'ish)* is the Arabic form of Syriac *kunnâshâ* "collection, encyclopaedia"; *aqrâbâdhîn* is the Syriac-Arabic form of Greek γραφίδιον *graphidion* "tablet".

(34) I.e. from 988 to 1063 A.D.

(35) IAU (I, 227, l.6 foll.; 232, l.3 foll.; 235 foll.) gives some extracts from this book in which IB speaks of the afore-mentioned Şâ'id b. Bishr b. 'Abdûs as the first physician who introduced the new treatment in Baghdad on the suggestion of his teacher Abû 'Alî b. Zur'a. Ibn Butlân relates e.g. that Ibn 'Abdûs replaced the usual "hot" electuaries in the service of the great hospital of Baghdad by diet, venesection, barley-water and infusions of seeds, "and this treatment effected miracles, as I have been told at Mayyâfâriqîn (Mesopotamia) by the Chief Abû Yahyâ son of the vizier Abu'l-Qâsim al-Maghribî ....." (see ZAMBAUR, p. 15, No. 21, III).

(36) Corresponding to the year 1049/50 A.D. This is the first treatise of the present publication.

(37) Naşr ad-Dawla Abû Naşr Aḥmad was the third emir of the dynasty of Marwânid princes who ruled over Diyâr Bakr and environs; his long reign lasted from 402/1011 to 453/1061 (see ZAMBAUR, p. 136, No. 123, 3). The scene of this treatise is Mayyâfâriqîn, an important town in the region of Diyâr Bakr.

Abu'l- 'Alâ' al-Ma'arrî (28). So the light of science was extinguished, and the minds were left, after their deaths, in darkness."

I (IAU) say: There are many poems and spirited anecdotes of Ibn Butlân; he inserted some of them into his essay called "The Medical Dinner-Party" and into other books. Ibn Butlân died unmarried and did not leave a child, and therefore he composed the following verse (28*):

Nobody will lament my death, when I die,
Save my medical companions and my books which are left lamenting.

Ibn Butlân composed the following books :

1. A (medical) Compendium (*kunnâsh*) (for the use) of monks and convents (29),
2. A Book on the buying of (black) slaves and on the handling of (white) male and female slaves (30),
3. System of Hygiene (31),
4. Discourse on administration of purgatives,
5. Discourse on the incorporation of aliment into the body, its digestion, the expulsion of its residues, and the administration and composition of purging remedies,
6. Discourse addressed to 'Alî ibn Ridwân, when Ibn Butlân came to Fustât (Old Cairo) in the year 441, as an answer to what 'Alî had written to him (32),

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to whom Ibn Butlân had addressed the report of his journey (see above, p. 52 n. 6).

(28) One of the most celebrated Arabic poets; he died in his hometown Ma'arra (Syria) in 449/1058 (BROCKELMANN I, 254-5 and *Supplement* I, 449-54; EI s.v. Abu'l-'Alâ').

(28*) In the metre *tawîl*.

(29) Exists in MSS. in the Libraries of Gotha (No. 1952,3), Göttingen (No. 97) and Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 2918, 2) with a lengthy title cited by BROCKELMANN (vol. II, p. 483, No. 2,3).

(30) Exists in MS. in the National Library of Berlin (No. 4979).

(31) Exists in a number of MSS. as well as in printed Latin and German translations (see above, p. 18, n. 15).

(32) These are respectively the second and third treatises of the present publication.

Haitham ([17]), Abû Sa'îd al-Yamamî ([18]), Abû 'Alî ibn as-Samaḥ ([19]), Sâ'id the physician ([20]) [p. 243] and Abu'l-Faraj 'Abdallâh ibn at-Tayyib ([21]) ; and among the prominent men of letters and literature : 'Alî ibn 'Isâ ar-Rub'i ([22]), Abu'l-Fath an-Nîsâbûrî ([23]), the poet Mihyâr ([24]), Abu'l- 'Alâ' ibn Nazîk ([25]), Abû 'Alî ibn Mawsilâyâ ([26]), the Chief Abu'l-Hasan as-Sâbi' ([27]) and

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([17]) Abû 'Alî al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Haitham, known to the Latin West as *Alhazen*, one of the most prominent mathematicians and astronomers of the Arabs; he was an older contemporary of IR, staying most of his lifetime in Cairo; he died there about 430/1039 (IQ 165-8; IAU II, 90-8; BROCKELMANN I, 469; EI s.v. Ibn al-Haitham; SARTON I, 721-3; SUTER 91-5 etc.).

([18]) Abû Sa'îd al-Faḍl b. 'Îsâ al-Yamâmî, physician and secretary to Abu 'l-Faraj b. aṭ-Ṭayyib (see below, n. 21); d. in Baghdad, date unknown (IAU I, 238 foll., 240 and II, 19, l. 11; LECL. I, 378).

([19]) This is probably Abu'l-Qâsim Aṣbagh b. Muḥammad b. as-Samaḥ, famous Hispano-Moorish mathematician and astronomer; d. in his birthplace, Granada, in 426/1035 (IAU II, 39 foll.; BROCKELMANN I, 472; SUTER 85; SARTON I, 715).

([20]) Abû Manṣûr Ṣâ'id b. Bishr b. 'Abdûs, physician in Baghdad. IAU (I, 232-3) saw an autograph report of Ibn Buṭlân on Ṣâ'id's new method of treatment for paralytic patients, which was very successful. See below, n. 35.

([21]) He is the afore-mentioned physician, philosopher and Christian theologian, Ibn Buṭlân's friend and teacher. He died in Baghdad in 435/1043 (BROCKELMANN I, 482; LECL. I, 486-8; SARTON I, 730; IAU I, 239-41; IQ 223).

([22]) 'Alî b. 'Isâ b. al-Faraj b. Ṣâliḥ ar-Rub'î, prominent Arabic grammarian, d. in Baghdad in 420/1029 (Yâqût, *Irshâd* V, 483-7; *Shadharât* III, 216).

([23]) He may be identical with Abu'l-Qâsim al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad an-Nîsâbûrî, man of letters, d. in 406/1015 (BROCKELMANN I, 156).

([24]) Mihyâr b. Marzûya ad-Dailamî, poet of Iranian origin, d. 428/1037 in Baghdad (BROCKELMANN I, 82 and *Supplement* I, 132; *Shadharât* III, 242).

([25]) Perhaps a misspelling for the name of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b Manṣûr b. al-Ḥasan ibn Bâbak, a poet in Baghdad where he died in 410/1019 (*Shadharât* III, 191).

([26]) He was a Christian secretary to the minister in Baghdad. He is cursorily mentioned by IAU (I, 232, l. 7 from below), and his son is mentioned in the same office by aṣ-Ṣafadî in *Nukat al-Himyân* (Dictionary of blind scholars, ed. Aḥmad Zakî, Cairo 1329/1911, p. 201); from the latter context, it appears that his name was al-Ḥasan b. Wahb.

([27]) He is the afore-mentioned high official and man of letters

Ibn Butlân says further : "As this comet rose in the sign of Gemini, which is the horoscope of Cairo, it caused the outbreak of the epidemic in Fustât by the insufficient level of the Nile at the time of its appearance in the year 445. So the warning of Ptolemy came true : "Woe betide the people of Egypt when one of the comets rises in Gemini at the end of the night!" When the planet Saturn descended to the sign of Cancer, the desolation of the 'Irâq, Mosul and al-Jazîra became complete, Diyâr Bakr, Rabî'a, Mudar, Fârs and Kirmân, the western lands, Yemen, Fustât and Damascus were depopulated, the affairs of the kings of the world were disturbed and wars, dearth and epidemics increased. The following prediction of Ptolemy came again true : "When Saturn and Mars are in conjunction in the sign of Cancer (the foundations of) the world are shaken."

I copied, moreover, the following remarks written by Ibn Butlân's own hand on the great epidemic diseases which wrought havoc to science by the deaths of learned men in his time. He says: "Within the space of some ten years occurred the deaths of the venerable al-Murtadâ (12), the Shaikh Abu 'l-Husain al-Basrî (13), the jurist Abu 'l-Hasan al-Qudûrî (14), His Honour the Judge al-Mâwardî (15) and Abu 't-Tayyib at-Tabarî (16) — may Allâh be pleased with all of them ! —; and among the representatives of the sciences of the Ancients : Abû 'Alî ibn al-

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(12) Ash-Sharif al-Murtaḍâ, descendant of the Caliph 'Alî and chief of the 'Alids in Baghdad where he died in 436/1044 (BROCKELMANN I, 404).

(13) Abu'l-Ḥusain Muḥammad b. 'Alî b. aṭ-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrî, philosopher, d. in Baghdad in 436/1044 (BROCKELMANN I, 459; *Shadharât* III, 259; cursorily mentioned by IAU I, 311, l. 22).

(14) Abu'l-Ḥusain (or Abu'l-Ḥasan) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qudûrî, author of a well-known treatise on Ḥanafî law, d. in Baghdad in 428/1036 (BROCKELMANN I, 174).

(15) Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alî b. Muḥammad al-Mâwardî, jurist who wrote on political law and government, d. in Baghdad in 450/1058 (BROCKELMANN I, 386).

(16) Ṭâhir b. 'Abdallâh b. Ṭâhir b. 'Umar aṭ-Ṭabarî, Shâfi'ite jurist, d. in Baghdad in 450/1058 (*Târîkh Baghdâd* IX, 358-60; *Shadharât* III, 284-5; Subkî III, 176-82; Ibn Khallikân I, 292).

Ridwân are of this kind and the like. Thus he wrote on him in a booklet entitled "Conflict of the Physicians":

When his face appeared to the midwives
They recoiled in perplexity;
And said keeping their words for themselves:
Alas, had we only left him in the uterus! (7)

Also, he used to nickname him "the crocodile of the demons" (8).

Ibn Butlân travelled from Egypt to Constantinople and stayed there one year; during his lifetime reigned many pestilential diseases. I (IAU) copied from his autograph narrative the following:

"The most famous plague in our time was that which broke out when the comet rose in the Gemini in the year 446 (9). In the autumn of this year, when all the cemeteries of Constantinople were full, about 14.000 bodies were buried in the church of St. Lucas. In midsummer of the year 447 the Nile did not reach its usual level, and most of the inhabitants of Fustât (Old Cairo) and Damascus and all the foreigners died, except those who were destined (to live) by Allâh. The plague spread out to the 'Irâq and involved most of its inhabitants, and, moreover, the land was laid waste by the action of the wandering soldiers, fighting amongst themselves (10); this continued down to the year 454 (11). In most countries people fell ill from black-biled ulcers and swellings of the spleen; the (normal) succession of feverish attacks was changed and the order of the crises was troubled, so that the science of prognosis became quite different."

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(7) Verses in the metre *tawîl*.

(8) Probably a satirical analogy to the nickname "Cock of the Demons" *(Dîk al-Jinn)* of a Syrian-Arabic poet who died in 253/849 (see EI s.v.).

(9) Corresponding to 1054 A.D.

(10) This was a period of anarchy and sanguinary brawls between Sunnites and Shî'ites, Dailamites and Turks. It was ended by the powerful protection of the Caliph by the Seljuk general Toghrulbeg.

(11) Corresponding to 1062 A.D.

him and reducing his opinion to absurdity. I have seen something of the correspondence which was exchanged between them and their mutual attacks. Ibn Butlân undertook the journey from Baghdad to Egypt with the intention of making the acquaintance of Ibn Ridwân and of having intercourse with him. He departed from Baghdad in the year 439 (3), and when he arrived on his way at Aleppo he stayed there some time, and was well received and very much honoured by Mu'izz ad-Dawla Thimâl ibn Sâlih (4). He arrived in Fustât (Old Cairo) in the beginning of Jumâdâ II of the year 441 (5), and made there a sojourn of three years, during the reign of al-Mustansir bi'llâh, one of [p. 242] the Egyptian (Fâtimid) Caliphs. During this time there happened between Ibn Butlân and Ibn Ridwân many incidents and amusing occurrences which are not devoid of interest. Much about these incidents is found in a book composed by Ibn Butlân after he had left Egypt and his meetings with Ibn Ridwân had come to an end (6); the latter also composed a book refuting his adversary. Ibn Butlân was the more gracious in his style, more spirited and more distinguished in literature and subjects connected with it. This is proved by what he wrote in the booklet which he entitled "The Medical Dinner-Party". But Ibn Ridwân was a better medical man and more trained in the philosophical and associated sciences. Ibn Ridwân was dark-complexioned and not of pleasant exterior. He composed a discourse in which he refutes those who scoffed at him on account of his ugly exterior, and in which he maintained the opinion that a perfect physician was not in need of a beautiful face. Most of the attacks directed by Ibn Butlân against 'Alî ibn

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(3) According to Ibn Buṭlân's own narrative (see biography No. V by IQ, above (p. 53) in 440 A.H.

(4) He was the half-independent governor of Aleppo, with intervals, from 429/1038 to 449/1053, when he died. He was of the family of the Mirdâsids. See ZAMBAUR, p. 33 and 133; EI, vol. II, p. 230 foll. (s.v. Ḥalab).

(5) Corresponding to November 1049 A.D.

(6) If IAU is right, the book here referred to does not correspond to our Treatise No. III which was composed by Ibn Buṭlân during his stay in Cairo.

coursed lengthily on the logical classifications with which he was familiar, so that his adversary felt himself helpless before him. When he left him, his wrath caused him to attack him and to excite the Christians of Aleppo against him, so that it was not possible for Ibn Butlân to stay any longer with them, and he departed from them. Ibn Sharâra used to say afterwards : "His faith was not favoured (by divine grace)", and he used to relate the sayings of a monk from Antioch, that at the spot where was the tomb of Ibn Butlân in a church in which he had settled down and which he had made his place of worship, a lamp went out each time it was alighted ; and he told more such stories. The Christians of Aleppo used to recite injurious verses against him at the time when he was charged with the organisation of their church-life and the regulation of their prayers and divine services according to their principles.

VI. BIOGRAPHY OF IBN BUTLAN BY IBN ABI USAIBI'A, '*UYUN AL-ANBA*'

(ed. Cairo 1299/1882, vol. I, p. 241-3)

Ibn Butlân. He is Abu'l-Hasan al Mukhtâr ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Abdûn ibn Sa'dûn ibn Butlân, a Christian of Baghdad. He worked under Abu'l-Faraj Abdallâh ibn at-Tayyib [1], became his pupil and read with him thoroughly many philosophical and other books. He frequented also the physician Abu'l-Hasan Thâbit ibn Ibrahîm ibn Zahrûn of Harrân [2], worked with him and was instructed by him in the medical art and its practical exercise. Ibn Butlân was a contemporary of 'Alî ibn Ridwân the Egyptian physician, and between the two occurred an astonishing correspondence and a curious, strange exchange of missives. None of the two composed a book or uttered a new opinion without the other refuting

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[1] See below, p. 63, n. 21.

[2] A famous practitioner in Bagdad; but he died already in 365/975, so that he cannot have been Ibn Butlân's teacher. See about him IAU, vol. I, p. 227-30; *Tatimma*, p. 70 foll.; LECL., vol. I, p. 369; EI s.v. al-Ṣâbi' (No. 5).

2. "The Medical Dinner-Party," a spirited conversational tale,
3. A Missive on the purchase of slaves.

When Ibn Butlân had in Cairo the well-known contention with Ibn Ridwân, Ibn Butlân addressed to him a missive in which he criticised him, enumerated his errors and pointed out his ignorance in the sciences of the Ancients which (his adversary) pretended to know.

Now follow (p. 298, l.17 — p. 314, l.20 of IQ) long extracts from our Treatise No. III. IQ then continues:

[p. 314, l. 21] This Ibn Butlân was the greatest of the companions of Abu'l-Faraj ibn at-Tayyib of Baghdad ([24]). Abu'l-Faraj esteemed him highly, preferred him to his (other) disciples and honoured him. Ibn Butlân profited from him and formed himself by his knowledge. I saw the copy of an autographical note of Abu'l-Faraj for him in (a copy of) [p. 315] the book "Fruits of Argument", a commentary of Abu'l-Faraj ([24*]), in the following terms : "Has read with me this book from beginning to end the execellent Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan al-Mukhtâr ibn al-Hasan — may Allâh prolong his authority and give him complete understanding. Written by 'Abdallâh ibn at-Tayyib" ([25]).

When Ibn Butlân came to Aleppo and went on well with its governor ([26]), he asked him to entrust him with the regulation of the divine service of the Christians, and the governor did so. Then he began to establish rules for the religious matters according to their principles and requirements, but they disliked him. Now, there was in Aleppo a Christian secretary and physician known as the doctor Abu'l-Khair ibn Sharâra ([27]). When he met Ibn Butlân and discussed Medicine with him, Ibn Butlân dis-

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([24]) See below, p. 63 n. 21.

([24*]) Evidently on the Apodeictics (*burhân*, "argument") of Aristotle, i.e. his Second Analytics, which Abu'l-Faraj had commented upon, according to IAU, vol. I, p. 240, l. 4 from below.

([25]) This is called in Arabic اجازة *ijâza*, i.e. licence to teach the contents of the book.

([26]) Probably the Mirdâsid Thimâl ibn Ṣâliḥ mentioned by IAU (see the following biography No. VI) as Ibn Butlân's protector.

([27]) His full name is Abu'l-Khair al-Mubârak ibn Sharâra; he died in Aleppo about 490/1097 (see his biography by IQ, p. 330).

is a Greek town with a harbour, a theatre and a circular arena for horse-plays (a hippodrome). There is, moreover, a former temple of the idols [p. 298] which is now a church and was at the rise of Islam a mosque. It is near to the sea and has a judge for the Muslims and a mosque in which they pray and call to prayer at the five prayer-times. But the Romans (Byzantines), when they hear the call to prayer, are in the habit of ringing the bell; the judge of the Muslims there is under the orders of the Byzantines. One of the curiosities (23) of this town is the market-inspector (محتسب *muhtasib*). He assembles the harlots and those foreigners among the Byzantines who are inclined to fornication in a circle (around him), cries out everyone of the girls, and the voluptuous purchase them by auction among each other for the coming night. Then they are taken to the lodgings which are the *khâns* destined for the lodging of foreigners, after each one of them has received from the girls [Yâqût: from the market-inspector] a token stamped with the seal of the archbishop as a certificate to be verified by the governor; for, if he finds a sinner with a sinning woman without the stamp of the archbishop, he considers this a misdemeanour. In the town are many excellent pious men and ascetics living in cells and on mountains. I am not at leisure to describe their mystical ranks nor to mention their sage sayings emanating from their clear insight and intelligence."

[Yâqût, *Geography*, vol. IV, p. 1003, l.10 foll. mentions from Ibn Butlân's relation still the following fragment: "Jaffa is a place which is afflicted by drought, and the children born in it rarely live on, so that there is no teacher for boys there."]

Among the famous writings composed by Ibn Butlân are :

1. The *System of Hygiene*, on the properties of aliments and the way to avoid their harmful qualities; in form of tables,

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and was later on alternatively a prey to Arabs, Seljuks, Crusaders and Byzantines.

(23) The following passage on the harlots of Laodicea is quoted from Ibn Buṭlân by Yâqût, *Geography*, vol. IV, p. 339, l. 12-7; it begins there as follows: "Laodicea is an old town called after the name of its builder. I saw there in the year 446 (but this an error — or a later addition ? — as Ibn Buṭlân arrived in Cairo in 441 and wrote the relation of his voyage, according to Yâqût, vol. IV, p. 1003, l. 10, in 442) something curious: the market-inspector gathered ...."

adorned with golden mosaic work, coloured glass and mosaic pavement. In the town is also a hospital in which the patients are under the personal care of the Patriarch. [Yâqût: He brings the lepers once a year to the bath and washes their hair with his own hand. The King (Emperor in Constantinople) does the same with poor people once a year, and he is helped in their attendance by the Grandees and the Patriarchs, in order to give a proof of humility.] In the town are, moreover, agreeable and excellent baths, such as are not found in any other town: their fuel is myrtle and they have a supply of running water. [Ibn Butlân then gives a lengthy narrative on the administration of the church of al-Qusyân and the damage done to it in 442/1052 by a thunderstorm with torrential rains. After this, he gives information on a celestial sign followed by an earthquake which happened a little later (19).] Outside the town is a river called al-Maqlûb running from south to north; it is like the (canal) Nahr 'Isâ. [Yâqût: On it is a water-mill, and it irrigates the gardens and fields (20).] Outside the town is, moreover, the Convent of St. Simeon (21) which is as large as half the Caliph's palace (in Baghdad); in it are entertained the travellers; [Yâqût: its yearly income is several hundredweights (talents) of gold and silver] and it is said that its yearly revenue amounts to 400.000 dinars. From this convent one climbs up to the mountain al-Lukkâm; on it are so many convents, monks' cells, gardens, flowing springs and running waters, so many ascetics and devout men, there is so much bell-ringing in the dawn and singing of melodious prayers that one could imagine oneself to be in Paradise. In Antioch is a shaikh who is known as Abû Nasr ibn al-'Attâr ("the son of the druggist"). He is Chief Judge of the town, has some knowledge in sciences, and is of agreeable conversation and understanding.

"I left Antioch and went to al-Lâdhiqîya (Laodicea) (22). It

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(19) This interpolation occupies in Yâqût, *Geography*, vol. I, p. 383, l. 22 — p. 385, l. 19; IQ has omitted it.

(20) Here ends Yâqût's quotation from Ibn Buṭlân on Antioch.

(21) Ibn Buṭlân's remark on this place is quoted by Yâqût, *Geography*, vol. II, p. 672, l. 5-7.

(22) Laodicea was conquered by the Arabs in the early years of Islam, reconquered by the Byzantine emperor Phocas in 357/968.

in uninterrupted succession, its gardens are full of flowers and its watercourses stream freely. [Yâqût : The traveller passes through it in cheerful mind, in security and tranquillity.]

Antioch ([17]) is a large town, with a wall and an outwall. The wall has 360 towers on which the guard is mounted in turn by 4000 watchmen who are sent from Constantinople, from the Imperial Court, to secure the safe guardianship of the town for a term of one year and who are relieved in the second year. The shape of the town is like a semicircle the diameter of which is leaning on a mountain. The wall rises with the mountain up to its summit and completes the circle. On the top of the mountain within the wall is a citadel which appears small on account of its distance from the town. This mountain keeps off the sun from the town, [p. 297] in such a way that the sun rises for the town in the second hour only. The surrounding wall has on the non-mountainous side five gates. In the middle of the town is the citadel of al-Qusyânî ; it was the palace of the king Qusyân whose son was resuscitated by Petrus the chief of the Apostles. It is a palatial building (*haikal*), 100 paces long and 80 large ; on the top of it stands a church on columns, and round the palace are halls in which are accommodated the judges of the (Byzantine) government, and the teachers of grammar and language. Over one of the doors of this church is a waterclock (clepsydra) which indicates continuously day and night twelve hours ; it is one of the wonders of the world ([18]). In the upper part of the palace are five storeys ; in the fifth are baths, gardens, and beautiful loggias, in which is running water [Yâqût : and the reason of this is that they have running water coming from the mountain which overlooks the town]. There is an innumerable amount of churches ; they are all

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([17]) Antioch was occupied by the Arabs in the year 17/638, fell into the hands of the Byzantines about 358/969, and was wrested from them by the Seljuks in 477/1083, i.e. 30 years after Ibn Buṭlân's narrative.

([18]) In the Byzantine towns were many artistically made clepsydras; the description of the famous waterclock of Gaza has come down to our time (see H. DIELS, *Ueber die von Prokop beschriebene Kunstuhr von Gaza*, in *Abhandl. d. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.*, Berlin 1917, phil.-hist. Kl. No. 7). They have been imitated and improved during the Islamic period (see WIEDEMANN and HAUSER, *Ueber die Uhren im Bereich der islamischen Kultur*, Halle 1915).

one of them is the slaughtering place where Abraham — peace be on him ! — used to sacrifice. In the lower part of the citadel is a cavern in which he used to hide his sheep and goats. When he milked his cattle he used to bestow the milk on the people so that they asked each other; Did he milk (حلب *halab*) or not ?; therefore the place has been called Halab (حلب Aleppo) (13). In the town are a mosque and six churches, also a small hospital; the lawyers give their *fatwâs* according to the Imâmite (Shî'ite) doctrine. The drinking-water of the inhabitants is obtained from cisterns [Yâqût: which are full of rain-water], and at the gate of the town flows a river known as al-Quwaiq which swells in the winter and sinks during the summer. In the centre of the town is the house of 'Alwa the mistress of al-Buhturî (14). The town has few fruits, vegetables or wine, only what are imported from ar-Rûm (the Byzantine country). In Aleppo there are no ruins."

From the same letter : "We left Aleppo in order to travel to Antioch which is from Aleppo at a distance of one day's and one night's march. We passed the night in a Romaic (Byzantine) village known as 'Imm (15); in it is a spring of running water from which are caught fishes and on which a mill is turning. In this village there is a great amount of pigs, harlots, prostitution and wine. There are four churches and a mosque in which the call for prayer is cried out in secret. The (16) country between Aleppo and Antioch is without any ruins, (fertile) soil cultivated with wheat and barley under olive trees; its villages follow each other

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(13) Ibn Buṭlân's description of this place is quoted by Yâqût, *Geography*, vol. II, p. 306, l. 20 - p. 307, l. 5. It goes without saying that the etymology of the name of Ḥalab (Aleppo) is purely nonsensical. The town is mentioned under the name of Khallab already in Hittite documents from Boghazköy, as early as in the second millennium B.C. (see EI s.v. Ḥalab).

(14) One of the most famous poets and anthologists of the 'Abbâsid period; he lived from 204/820 to 284/897 approximately (see EI s.v.).

(15) Ibn Buṭlân's description of this place is quoted by Yâqût, *Geography*, vol. III, p. 729, l. 7-10.

(16) The whole following passage is quoted from Ibn Buṭlân by Yâqût, *Geography*, vol. I, p. 382, l. 23- p. 385, l. 21.

in his relation all what he had seen or learnt during his journey from foreign scholars.

"I set out (from Baghdad) in the name of Allâh the Most High and with His blessing in the beginning of the month of Ramadân of the year 440 (7) and followed upwards the canal called Nahr 'Isâ on to al-Anbâr (8) and reached ar-Rahba (9) after nineteen days' travel. This is a nice town in which is a innumerable variety of fruits; nineteen kinds of grapes are to be found there. It is situated in the middle (of the country lying) between al-Anbâr, Aleppo, Takrît, Mosul, Sinjâr and al-Jazîra, and there is between it and the castle of ar-Rusâfa (10) a travelling distance of four days. [Yâqût : This castle, viz. the castle of ar-Rusâfa, is a fortified place smaller than the palace of the Caliphs in Baghdad and it is built of stone. In it is a great church adorned from outside with golden mosaic work; it was founded by Constantine son of Helen. Hishâm ibn 'Abd al-Malik (11) reconstructed and inhabited ar-Rusâfa; he took there refuge from the gnats of the banks of the Euphrates. Underneath the church is a cistern in the soil as big as the church building, supported by marble columns and laid out with marble tiles, full of rainwater. The inhabitants of this fortified place are Beduins, mostly Christians; they earn their living by guarding caravans and by importation of wares; they are at the same time beggars and robbers. This castle is situated in the centre of an even plain on the different sides of which the eye reaches the horizon.] We travelled (another) four days from ar-Rusâfa to Aleppo. The latter is surrounded by a wall of white stones, has six gates and close to the wall [p. 296] a citadel, in the highest part of which (12) are a mosque and two churches. In

(7) Corresponding to end of January 1049 A.D.

(8) Concerning Anbâr, a town on the left bank of the Euphrates, see EI s.v.

(9) Concerning ar-Rahba, a town on the right bank of the Euphrates, see EI s.v.

(10) A castle in the eastern desert of Syria; see Yâqût, *Geography*, vol. II, p. 784 foll. We have supplied Ibn Butlân's description of this place, which has been omitted by Ibn al-Qiftî, from the quotation by Yâqût, vol. II, p. 785, l. 14-22.

(11) The tenth Umayyad Caliph who reigned from 105/724 to 125/743.

(12) It should be noted that the interior of the citadel of Aleppo is occupied by an immense hill.

and his resting-place had become to him tedious by the intercourse with ignorant people. The desire for solitude overcame his mind; he settled down in one of the convents of Antioch, became a monk and devoted himself to worship until he died there in the course of the year 444 (4).

I saw in the "Book of Spring" by Muhammad ibn Hilâl ibn al-Muhassin (5) the copy of a letter addressed by Ibn Butlân to the Chief Hilâl ibn al-Muhassin ibn Ibrâhîm (6) after the departure from Baghdad, describing what he met with during his journey; it reads as follows :

[p. 295] "In the Name of Allâh the Merciful, the Compassionate ! On account of the deep respect which I feel for our high Lord — may Allâh prolong his life and degrade his near and far enemies ! — and on account of the obedience to him which I feel to be my duty during stay and travel, I made up my mind, when leaving his high presence, to recall myself to his memory by reports on the memorable things witnessed during my peregrinations, as a contribution to his book which is to be the History of Beautiful and Glorious Events and the Dîwân of High and Memorable Things in which — may Allâh make lasting his authority ! — he may incorporate (of my narrative) what he pleases and with what he agrees." Ibn Butlân then continues to say that this book is looked for with impatience even in Egypt, and says that lack of time has prevented him from incorporating

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journey from there he settled down in Antioch; see the following biography (No. VI) by IAU.

(4) Corresponding to 1052 A.D. This is an error, as Ibn Buṭlân must have been still alive eleven years later, according to IAU (see below, p. 65).

(5) The son of the historian Hilâl who is mentioned in the following note; his "Book of Spring" *Kitâb ar-Rabî'* is lost; he died in 480/1087. See EI s.v. al-Sâbi' (No. 7).

(6) This is Abu'l-Ḥasan Hilâl b. al-Muḥassin aṣ-Ṣâbi', a famous man of letters, historian and secretary in the service of the 'Abbâsid Caliphs, belonging to a family of scholars of Ṣâbi'an origin. Of the great historical work which was composed by Hilâl aṣ-Ṣâbi' in continuation of the history of his father-in-law Thâbit ibn Sinân a fragment has come down to us. Hilâl died in Baghdad in 448/1056. See EI s.v. al-Ṣâbi' (No. 2).

to improve when I began to study Medicine." Steinschneider adds that he had probably many wives "several of whom were virgins and maidens," but that he parted from them; he was a great lover of women, but abstinent in conduct. He had a son who died a short time after his birth, and three daughters one of whom did not live more than seven years, another not more than one year. In the same context one reads: "And my marriage was delayed until the age of thirty...... (and I had) one son and several daughters, and they all died."

V. BIOGRAPHY OF IBN BUTLAN BY IBN AL-QIFTI, *TARIKH AL-HUKAMA'*

(ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, p. 294-315, and supplements from Yâqût's *Geography*)

The learned al-Mukhtâr ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Abdûn Abu'l-Hasan the physician of Baghdad known as Ibn Butlân, a Christian physician and logician, one of the inhabitants of Baghdad. He studied under the learned men of his time, Christians of al-Karkh (1). He was of ugly, not of gracious exterior, as was ordained for him by Allâh, but excellent in the science of the Ancients; he earned his livelihood by medical practice. He left Baghdad for al-Jazîra, Mosul, Diyâr Bakr (2), entered Aleppo and stayed there for some time, but did not like the town. He moved from there to Cairo where he made a stay of nearly the same length of time (2*). He met there Ibn Ridwân the Egyptian, the foremost philosopher of his time, with whom he had a disagreement caused by an exaggeration of discussion. Ibn Butlân left Cairo in wrath against 'Alî ibn Ridwân, went to Antioch on his journey back from Cairo (3) and made there a stay, for he was weary of travelling

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(1) A quarter of Baghdad mostly inhabited by Christians.

(2) This is in contradiction with Ibn Buṭlân's own narrative of his journey; see the following quotations.

(2*) Actually, according to the following biography (No. VI) by IAU, Ibn Buṭlân stayed in Cairo for three years, whereas his whole journey from Baghdad to Cairo took less than one year.

(3) In reality, he went first to Constantinople, and on his return

IV. ON A FRAGMENT OF IBN RIDWAN'S LIFE, EXTRACTED FROM AN OLD LATIN TRANSLATION

Steinschneider (¹) gives important notes about IR extracted from three mathematical works of this author. One of them is his commentary on Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum*, mentioned in his biography by IQ (see above, p. 33), the second a small treatise on the projection of light-rays, and the third a small pamphlet "On three Nativities" (*De Tribus Nativitatibus*). The first of these nativities is his own, with autobiographical notes. There exists, as far as we know, no Arabic MS. of these latter two treatises which were printed, in the Latin version of an unknown author, at the end of the Latin text of Ibn Ridwân's commentary on the *Quadripartitum* (Venice 1493 and 1513). As these rare prints are not at our disposal we give here a translation of Steinschneider's paragraph, partly in Italian, partly in Latin, (²) on some otherwise unknown events in Ibn Ridwan's life:

His father did not live more than 31 years, his mother reached the age of 43; he had a brother and a sister, both of them older than himself. When IR wrote this notice he foresaw for himself, at the age of 52, a danger for his life. He said about himself that he was "of rheumatic constitution with much sour phlegms" and of "stable and wise character, good intelligence, abstinence and good manners." IR continues in the Latin text: "The beginning of my wealth was, after I devoted myself to Medicine (*postquam tenui scholas physice*), because one of my friends took me into his office and I became his substitute, from which I profited also very much for my Medicine...... My office was Medicine and Astronomy; in my young years I had other kinds of little lucrative jobs and similar things. Later on my situation began

(¹) See M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Vite di matematici arabi tratte da un'opera inedita di Bernardino Baldi, con note*, in *Bullettino di Bibliografia e di Storia delle Scienze matematiche e fisiche*, vol. V (Roma 1874), p. 40, 44, 46, 48 and 56 of the separate print (between pages 467-92 of the *Bulletino).*

(²) *Ibidem*, p. 48.

102. Missive on the protection of hot-tempered people against the harmfulness of sweets ([68]).

III. A FRAGMENT FROM IBN ABI USAIBI'A

(vol. I, p. 10)

I copied from 'Alî ibn Ridwân's own handwriting in his commentary on Galen's book *De Sectis* the following text. He says : "I was attacked some years ago by severe headache by an overfilling (*plethora*) of the bloodvessels of the head. I made a venesection, but without success; I repeated this several times, but it persisted. Then I saw Galen in a dream and he asked me to read to him his *Methodus Medendi*. I read to him seven parts of it, and when I reached the end of the seventh part, he said to me : Here ! I forgot the kind of headache from which you are suffering. And he prescribed to me cupping at the occipital protuberance. I awoke and did the cupping and got rid of the headache on the spot."

([68]) Notwithstanding its length, this list if Ibn Riḍwân's works is not complete. The following books, which have come down to us in Arabic, are missing:

1) Commentary on Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum*, mentioned in the preceding biography (No. I) by IQ;
2) "The physician's sufficiency, containing my checked experiences" كفاية الطبيب فيما صح لدى من التجاريب, existing in MS. in the Library of Gotha, No. 1952, 1.
3) "The duties of the excellent chief with regard to the care for his own body and the education of his intimates and stewards", فيما يجب على الرئيس الفاضل من مصالح بدنه وادب ابيه وقهرمانه existing in MS. in the same Library, No. 2015, 3.

Moreover, IAU himself mentions in the biography of Ibn Buṭlân (No. VI, see below, p. 60) a discourse by Ibn Riḍwân "that a perfect physician is not in need of a beautiful face", to which his adversary Ibn Buṭlân refers in the third treatise (below, p. 98). Finally, see the biographical fragment No. IV for two small treatises preserved in Latin translation only.

88. Discourse apologising for his contradiction to the traditionalists,
89. Discourse on the monotheism and the piety of the philosophers,
90. Book on the refutation of Rhazes concerning theology and the proofs of prophecy,
91. Book on the application of logic in the sciences and arts: three parts (59),
92. A small missive on the *Hylê* (*materia*, matter); he composed it for Abû Sulaimân ibn Bâbashâdh (60),
93. His two memorandums entitled "The Perfect Perfection" and "The Extreme Happiness" (61); they are unfinished,
94. His notes on remarks from Plato's books ...... (62) the nature of man,
95. Notes on remarks from the Introduction (*Isagoge*) of Porphyry (63),
96. Abstract from the book ...... (64),
97. Notes on the fact that the equator is naturally dark during the night and that its substance is incidentally dark during the night,
98. Book on the things needed for the doctor's office : four parts,
99. Discourse on the climate of Cairo (65),
100. Discourse on the temperament of sugar (66),
101. Discourse indicating the nonsense in Ibn Butlân's sayings (67),

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(59) See the note on No. 76.

(60) This scholar may be identical or related with Abu'l-Ḥasan ibn Bâbashâdh, an official who died in Cairo in 469/1076 and who is mentioned by BROCKELMANN, vol. I, p. 301.

(61) See No. 87.

(62) The text is apparently corrupt.

(63) A Neoplatonic philosopher living in the IIIrd cent. A D. His Introduction to Aristotle's Categories was famous during the Middle Ages.

(64) The text seems to be corrupt.

(65) This is perhaps a part of the book mentioned under No. 14.

(66) Exists in MS. in the Library of Gotha, No. 2015, 11.

(67) Possibly identical with No. 57, 58 or 59.

76. His answer to questions on logic out of the book of Analytics (of Aristotle) [54],
77. Discourse on the solution of the doubts of Yahyâ ibn Adî called *al-Mukhrisât* (the Dumbfounding, i.e. striking, Arguments) [55],
78. Discourse on heat,
79. Discourse on the prophetic mission of Muhammad — may Allâh bless and save him ! — according to the torah and philosophy,
80. Discourse on the fact that there are existing natural points and lines [56],
81. Discourse on the creation of the world [57],
82. Discourse pointing out the tricks of those who claim wrongly to possess knowledge of astrological prognosis, and on the nobility of the real representatives (of scientific astrology),
83. Discourse on the combination of necessity and actuality,
84. Discourse on the acquisition of lawful fortune,
85. Discourse on the difference between the perfect, the righteous and the unsettled (عطب *'atib*) man [57a],
86. Discourse on the whole of (Aristotle's) politics,
87. Missive on happiness [58],

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[54] This, or No. 91, are possibly identical with "three treatises on logic" in two MSS. of the Escurial Library (2nd edition of the catalogue, vol. I, No. 799 and 877).

[55] Yaḥyâ ibn 'Adî was a famous Christian philosopher, and the most eminent disciple of al-Fârâbî in Baghdad where he died in 364/974. The work of Yaḥyâ here referred to is not to be found in the list of his numerous philosophical treatises given by Aug. PERIER. *Yaḥyâ ben 'Adi, un philosophe chrétien du Xe siècle* (Paris 1920). p. 72-7. But see the remark of IB in the third treatise, below p. 87, and IR's answer in the fourth treatise, p. 103. From the latter context it would appear that this discourse of Ibn Riḍwân forms but a part of his book already mentioned by IAU as No. 26.

[56] See Ibn Butlân's polemics in the third treatise, p. 103.

[57] Exists in MS. in the British Museum Library, No. 426, 20.

[57a] As appears from IR's own narrative at the beginning of the fourth treatise (p. 73 of the Arabic text), this discourse was directed against IB (see also p. 96 n. 34 and p. 106 n. 69)

[58] See No. 72 and 93.

61. A statement by him (Ibn Ridwân) in which he resumes his refutation (of Ibn Butlân),
62. Book on questions started between him and Ibn al-Haitham [49] concerning the milky way and the (astronomical) position,
63. Some comments he had made on "The Perfect Book of the Medical Art" [50]; only its first commencement exists.
64. Missive on the times (periods) of diseases,
65. Discourse on the way to happiness by way of the medical profession [51],
66. Discourse on the causes of the protraction of the humoral fevers and the combination of two of them,
67. His answer to what had been related to him about the condition of a patient suffering from left hemiplegia [52],
68. Discourse on tumours [52*],
69. Book on simple drugs in alphabetical order: twelve parts; what exists of it goes no farther than the sixth part only,
70. Discourse on the excellence of medicine,
71. Missive on generation and decay (*al-kawn wa'l-fasâd*),
72. Discourse on the way to happiness, that is, the manner of life which he had chosen for himself [53],
73. Discourse [p. 105] on the survival of the soul after death [53*],
74. Discourse on the excellence of philosophy,
75. Discourse on the immortality of the soul according to Plato and Aristotle [53**],

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(49) See below, p. 63 n. 17.

(50) This is a great medical treatise written in Arabic by the Persian physician 'Alî ibn al-'Abbâs (Xth cent. A.D.), printed in Cairo 1294 A.H. (1877 A.D.).

(51) Perhaps identical with No. 15 and 72.

(52) Probably the same as No. 41.

(52*) Possibly identical with No. 39.

(53) Perhaps identical with No. 15 and 65; see also No. 87 and 93. CARRA DE VAUX, in EI, vol. I, p. 232 (s.v. *Akhlâk*) mentions, without reference, a treatise of IR on ethics, contained in his autobiography, apparently the same work.

(53*) Perhaps identical with No. 75.

(53**) Perhaps identical with No. 73.

42. Glosses which he made on the *Methodus Medendi* of Galen,
43. Glosses which he made on Galen's *Hygiene*,
44. Glosses which he made on Galen's *De Plenitudine* (? in Arabic : *fi'l-kathra*),
45. Glosses which he made on Galen's *De Venaesectione*,
46. Glosses which he made on Galen's *De Simplici Medicina*,
47. Glosses which he made on Galen's *Mayâmir* [13],
48. Glosses which he made on Galen's Κατὰ γένη *Kata Genê* [44],
49. Glosses which he made on numerous books of Hippocrates and Galen concerning humours,
50. On the solution of Rhazes' doubts concerning Galen's books : seven parts,
51. Discourse on hygiene,
52. Discourse on the periods of fevers [45],
53. Discourse on violent respiration, i.e. dyspnoea,
54. Missive addressed to Abû Zakarîyâ' Yahûdâ ibn Sa'âda on the method applied by Galen for the solution of sharp humours (?) in his book called *Ars Parva*,
55. Discourse on the refutation of the discourse of Ibn Butlân on the young bird and the chicken [46],
56. Discourse on the mouse,
57. Discourse on the astonishing things alleged by Ibn Butlân,
58. Discourse on the fact that his own ignorance (*sic*) is truth and wisdom, and that the (alleged) knowledge of Ibn Butlân is fallacy and sophistry [47],
59. Discourse on the fact that Ibn Butlân does not understand his own sayings and still less those of others,
60. Missive to the physicians of Misr and Qâhira (Cairo) concerning news about Ibn Butlân [48],

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(13) *Mayâmir* is the Arabic plural of Syriac *mêmrâ* = sermon, discourse or treatise. The Arabic physicians used to designate by this term Galen's work *De Compositione Medicamentorum secundum Locos*.

(44) It is Galen's *De Compositione Medicamentorum per Genera*.

(45) Exists in MS. in the Library of Gotha, No. 2015, 13.

(46) This is the second of the treatises of the present publication.

(47) This is the fourth of our treatises.

(48) This is the fifth of our treatises; No. 57, 59, 61 and 101, which are likewise directed against Ibn Butlân, have not been preserved.

31. Note on the book of at-Tamîmî [35] on aliments and remedies,
32. Note on the book of Posidonius [36] on drinks which are agreable to healthy people,
33. Glosses which he made on the book of Philagrius [37] on useful and agreable drinks in the time of diseases,
34. Discourse on coition,
35. Discourse on the fact that the nutrition of every organ is effected by the humour which is homogeneous to it [38],
36. Discourse on the way to determine the number of fevers [39],
37. A chapter of sentences on the natural faculties,
38. Answer to questions on the pulse, questions which had reached him from Syria [40],
39. Missive on answers to questions which had been put to him by the Shaikh Abu't-Tayyib Azhar ibn an-Nu'mân [41] on tumours,
40. Missive on the treatment of a boy who was taken ill with the disease called elephantiasis and leontiasis,
41. A copy of the schedule which had been sent to him by Abu'l-Mu'askar al-Husain ibn Ma'dân the king of Mukrân when he had been struck by a left hemiplegia, and Ibn Ridwân's answer to him [42],

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[35] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad at-Tamîmî was a famous Muslim physician born in Jerusalem, and in the service of the first Fâṭimid Caliphs in Cairo during the last half of the Xth cent. A.D.

[36] A Greek physician of the first cent B.C. belonging to the Empiric School.

[37] A Hellenistic physician of the IVth cent. A.D.

[38] Exists in MS. in the Library of Gotha, No. 2015, 7.

[39] Exists in MS. in the Library of Gotha, No. 2015, 12.

[40] The next three "letters" are perhaps identical with those in the Library of Gotha, No. 2015.

[41] A physician who must have been Ibn Riḍwân's contemporary, but who is, to our knowledge, mentioned nowhere in the chronicles and treatises on Medicine.

[42] Mukrân was in the first half of the XIth cent. A.D. a kingdom occupying the coastal region of Baluchistan; it was under the supremacy of the sultans of Ghazna (Afghanistan). King Abu'l-Mu'askar is mentioned by Muḥammad Nâẓim, *The Life and Times of Sultân Maḥmûd of Ghazna* (Cambridge 1931), p. 80.

21. Discourse on the fact that the best achievement of 'Abdallâh ibn at-Tayyib [31] is his sophistry; in five parts,
22. Book stating that the individuals of every multiplying species must have an ancestor from whom they are propagated (by generation), according to the doctrine of philosophers.
23. Explanation of the discourse of Pythagoras the Sage On Virtue,
24. Discourse refuting Ephraim [32] and Ibn Zur'a on the difference of religions,
25. Quotations from Galen's commentaries on Hippocrates' books,
26. A Book "In support of Aristotle;" it is a book of mediation between him and his adversaries who contradicted him concerning his *Physics* : 39 parts [33],
27. Explanation of the medical *Nomos* (law) of Hippocrates,
28. Explanation of the testament of Hippocrates known as the Method of Medicine,
29. Sentences on purging remedies,
30. Book on the making of drinks and electuaries [34],

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[31] For Abu'l-Faraj 'Abdallâh ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib, see below, p. 63 n. 21.

[32] Probably Afrâ'îm (Ephraim) ibn az-Zaffân (IAU, vol. II, p. 105 foll.), a distinguished Jewish practitioner and bibliophile in Cairo, a pupil of Ibn Riḍwân. 'Îsâ ibn Zur'a was a well-known Christian philosopher in Baghdad living during the IV/Xth cent. (d. 398/1008).

[33] According to a statement of Ibn Riḍwân himself in treatise No. IV (below, p. 109) the subject-matter of this work was, partially at least, "logic"; from the same context it appears, that the treatise of Ibn Riḍwân mentioned by Ibn Abî Uṣaibi'a under No. 77 formed a part of the same book (see note on No. 77). A little further on (p. 110) Ibn Riḍwân gives as the title of the work "On the Mediation between Aristotle and Galen", and he seems to have treated there on medical questions as well. Perhaps all those differing statements refer to different parts of the whole. — According to IAU, vol. II, p. 212, l.9 foll., the famous physician 'Abd al-Laṭîf al-Baghdâdî (d. 629/1231; see EI s.v. 'Abd al-Laṭîf) wrote a refutation of Ibn Riḍwân's book "On the Differences between Aristotle and Galen" في اختلاف جالينوس وارسطوطاليس.

[34] Exists in MS. in the Bodleian Library, vol. I, No. 941, 8.

10. Discourse on the treatment of lepra,
11. A book in which the "Questions" [22] of Hunain are re-examined : two parts [23],
12. The Useful Book on the Method of Medical Learning : three parts [24],
13. Discourse on the fact that Galen did not make erroneous statements on milk, as some people pretended [25],
14. Discourse on the prevention of bodily ills in Egypt [26],
15. Discourse on his life [27],
16. Discourse on barley and what is made from it [28] ; he composed it for Abû Zakarîyâ' Yahûdâ ibn Sa'âda the physician [29],
17. His answer on questions concerning ass' milk which had been put to him by Yahûdâ ibn Sa'âda,
18. Glosses [p. 104] on Medicine [30],
19. Glosses which he transmitted concerning the medical knowledge of drugs,
20. Discourse on the method of Hippocrates in the study of Medicine,

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[22] The famous "Questions on Medicine" by Ḥunain ibn Isḥâq.

[23] To this book of Ibn Riḍwân may refer the "Vindication of Ḥunain ibn Isḥâq" كتاب الانتصار لحنين بن اسحق على بن رضوان by Abu'ṣ-Ṣalt Umayya (d. 529/1134); see IAU vol. II, p. 62, l. 13 from below; BROCKELMANN, vol. I, p. 486, No. 14.

[24] This is the treatise from which we gave extracts, above, p. 20 foll. IAU's remark on p. 39, below, may refer to the same work.

[25] Exists in MS. in the Library of Gotha, No. 2015, 5.

[26] Two MS. copies of this treatise are in the Egyptian Library in Cairo; see above p. 19 and below, p. 89, n. 16.

[27] This is the autobiography from which Ibn Abî Uṣaibi'a gave the extracts which we have translated, above, p. 35 foll.; it seems to be identical with No. 65 and 72.

[28] Exists in MS. in the Library of Gotha, No. 2015, 8.

[29] A small treatise of this hitherto unknown Jewish physician is extant in the Taimûr collection of the National Library in Cairo, *hikma* 117 (the volume comprises several tracts).

[30] Several medical glosses by Ibn Ridwân exist in the MS. No. 2015 of the Library of Gotha, a fragment of "aphorisms" by him in the MS. No. 880, 10 of the Escurial Library.

and pure of soul, that he is passionately fond of his studies, intelligent and of good memory for that which he has learned." Follows a passage on the signs of a healthy body ([16**]). He (Ibn Ridwân) says : "When you are called to a patient give him at first harmless remedies until you know his disease; then begin the real treatment. To know his disease means that you know first of all, which humour is the origin of his disease; and secondly, in which organ it has its centre. After that you may treat it."

Ibn Abî Usaibi'a then goes on to say :

The following are the books composed by 'Alî ibn Ridwân :

1. Commentary on Galen's *De Sectis;* he finished it on Thursday the 27th of Dhu'l-Hijja 432 (= August 27, 1041) ([17]),
2. Commentary on Galen's *Ars parva* ([18]),
3. Commentary on Galen's minor book *De Pulsibus*.
4. Commentary on Galen's *Ad Glauconem* on the retardation of healing of diseases ([19]),
5. Commentary on its first book in five parts,
6. Commentary on its second book in two parts,
7. Commentary on Galen's *De Elementis* ([20]),
8. Commentary on a part of Galen's *De Temperamentis;* of Galen's sixteen books he has not commented on any but the afore-mentioned,
9. Principles of Medicine, in four parts; it is a compendium (*kunnâsh*) ([21]),

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([16**]) Here, on p. 8, l. 20 of the Arabic part, *mâ yustadall* is perhaps to be corrected into *fa-'stadill*.

([17]) Exists in MS. in the Escurial Library, No. 847. A fragment will be found in the following biographical excerpt No. III.

([18]) Exists in MS. in the Escurial Library, No. 874, as well as in a printed Latin and a Hebrew translation (see STEINSCHNEIDER, *Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1893, p. 734).

([19]) Exists in MS. in the Escurial Library, No. 799 and 877. The two following numbers form probably parts of the same work. — Extracts from this commentary were made by Abû Ja'far Yûsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasdây (d. 522/1128); see IAU vol. II, p. 51, l. 4 from below.

([20]) Exists only in Hebrew translation; see STEINSCHNEIDER, l.c., p. 735.

([21]) Exists only in Hebrew translation; see STEINSCHNEIDER, l.c., p.733.

he has a chapter on the reasons why he who learns from the mouth of men is more distinguished than he who learns from books, given that both of them possess the same receptive faculty.

Now follows a quotation from this Treatise No. III of which we give extracts hereinafter. Then Ibn Abî Usaibi'a continues [on p. 102] :

The death of 'Alî ibn Ridwân — may Allâh have mercy on him ! — took place in the year 453 (= 1061 A.D.) in Cairo, during the caliphate of al-Mustansir bi-'llâh Abû Tamîm Ma'add ibn az-Zâhir li-I'zâz Dîni-'llâh ibn al-Hâkim.

Then follows another short quotation from the autobiography of Ibn Ridwân, similar to that already mentioned, on his spending his leisure hours, and after this Ibn Abî Usaibi'a continues :

Another sentence of his which I copied from his own handwriting is the following: "The physician is, in the opinion of Hippocrates (16*), he who combines in himself seven qualities : 1) to be of perfect body, sound organs, good intelligence, pleasing appearance, reasonable, of good memory and good- natured ; 2) to be well-dressed, sweet-scented, clean as to body and attire ; 3) to keep inviolate the secrets of the patients and not to reveal anything of their diseases ; 4) to be more eager to cure the patients than [p. 103] to earn the expected fee, and to be more strenuous in the treatment of the poor than in that of the rich ; 5) to be eager to teach, and to be useful to mankind in the utmost degree ; 6) to be of sound heart, chaste looks and sincere speech, not to think of the women nor of the valuables which he sees in the houses of people of quality, and much less to aspire to their possession ; 7) to be trustworthy so that one can rely on him with regard to one's life and fortune, not to prescribe a deadly medicine nor to teach its preparation, not to prescribe abortive remedies and to treat an enemy with the same devotion as a friend. He (Ibn Ridwân) says : The teacher of the medical art is he in whom are joined these qualities with the perfect mastership of the medical art. The student is he from whose physiognomy is to be presumed that he is good-natured

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(16*) This refers to the famous *Oath of Hippocrates*, a landmark in the ethics of Medicine.

great dearth and a terrible emigration (to escape starvation) owing to which most of the inhabitants died. I quote a handwritten report of al-Mukhtâr ibn al-Hasan ibn Butlân: 'The dearth began in Egypt in the year 445 (= 1053 A.D.). In the following year the Nile was low and the dearth increased and was followed by a great plague. This latter grew more violent in the year 447. It is said that the Sultan (Caliph) paid from his privy-purse for the burial-clothes for 80.000 people and that he lost 800 commanders (of the army). The Sultan had, however, a considerable revenue out of the successions.'

Abû 'Abdallâh Muhammad the copyist of Malaga (in Spain) informed me (Ibn Abî Usaibi'a) that Ibn Ridwân's reason became deranged towards the end of his life. The cause of it was that he had adopted during that dearth an orphan-girl whom he educated and who grew up in his house. Once when he left her by herself in his house at a time when he had accumulated there valuables and gold to the amount of about 20.000 dinars she took all together and fled. No news came from her, and nobody knew where she had gone. From this time his mental faculties were changed.

I (Ibn Abî Usaibi'a) say : Ibn Ridwân was inclined to polemics against his contemporaries, physicians and others, and likewise against his predecessors ([14]). He was insolent in his utterings and abused those with whom he held argument. This is to be found mostly in his refutations of Hunain ibn Is-hâq and Abu'l-Faraj ibn at-Tayyib ([15]), and also of Abû Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakarîyâ' ar-Râzî ([16]). Ibn Ridwân had no teacher in medicine to whom he could have referred; he composed a book on this subject in which he said that learning of the (medical) science out of books is more profitable than learning from teachers. Ibn Butlân refuted this opinion, and others, of Ibn Ridwân in a monograph in which

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([14]) His disinclinations, however, had nothing to do with religious prejudice, as he highly appreciated the famous Jewish physician Ishâq ibn Sulaimân (lived about 900 A.D. in Qairawân in Tunisia) and his "Book on Fevers" (IAU vol. II, p. 37 below). He was also on friendly relations with the Jewish physician Yahûdâ ibn Sa'âda (see No. 16, 17 and 54 of the following book-list).

([15]) See No. 21 of the following book-list.

([16]) See *ibidem*, No. 90.

considering the 'Kingdom of Heavens and Earth.' The Ancients and the men of learning wrote about these things many books; I preferred to confine myself in this to the following : five books of literature, ten on religious law, the books of Hippocrates and Galen on the medical art and the like, such as Dioscurides' book of herbs (*Materia Medica*), the books of Rufus, Oribasius and Paulus [p. 101] and 'The Comprehensive Book' (*Continens Medicinae*) of Rhazes; four books amongst those on agriculture and pharmacopoeia, and of the books of science the *Almagest* and its introductions and what else may be useful for me, and the *Quadripartitum* of Ptolemy ([11]); out of the books of learned men (philosophers): the books of Plato, Aristotle, Alexander (of Aphrodisias), Themistius and Muhammad al-Fârâbî and what else may be useful for me. The remainder (of my books) I sell for any price I can get, or I keep them in cases; but to sell is better than to keep."

I (Ibn Abî Usaibi'a) say : This is the substantial part of his autobiography. He was born in Egypt in Gîza and grew up in Cairo; his father was a baker. He worked incessantly and studied the sciences, so that he became a distinguished man, acquired a good name and great reputation. He served (the Caliph) al-Hâkim ([12]) who created him Chief of all the physicians. The house of Ibn Ridwân was at Qasr ash-Sham' ([13]) and it is known down to the present time (about 1250 A.D.) under his name; but it has fallen into ruins and only small remnants of it remain. In the time when Ibn Ridwân was living there occurred in Egypt a

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([11]) Claudius Ptolemy (second cent. A.D.) composed his main work on astronomy and mathemathics with the title Μεγάλη Σύνταξις *Megalè Syntaxis*, called المجسطي (corrupted into *Almagest)* by the Arabs, and minor treatises among which the *Quadripartitum*, a treatise on astrology.

([12]) Although IAU repeats the same statement at several places, this cannot be correct, as al-Ḥâkim disappeared in 411 A.H. = 1021 A.D. when Ibn Ridwân who, according to the above passage, had to fight for his career until his 32nd year, was barely 23 years old. The caliph in question must be, on the contrary, al-Mustanṣir, who reigned from 427/1036 until 487/1094 (see the beginning of the preceeding biography No. I by IQ).

([13]) A quarter of the old town of Cairo (Miṣr).

to brethren and neighbours, and for the maintenance of my house. The revenue of my estates I keep for their maintenance and administration and for the time in which they would be needed. When I intend to undertake a new enterprise, as commerce or construction of a house or something else, I suppose it to be urgent and make an estimate of its essentials and the connected things. If I find that it offers great possibilities I carry it through; if I see that it offers few possibilities, I drop the subject. I do my best possible to inform myself on sound enterprises (only) and then I spend on them what is necessary. I am wearing clothes which are adorned by the marks of distinguished people and by cleanliness. I make use of a delicate perfume, am silent and take care of my language where the failings of men are concerned (8). I endeavour to speak always decently and take care not to swear and not to blame the opinions (of others). I avoid conceitedness and overweening, avoid eager desires and covetousness, and if an adversity befalls me, I rely on Allâh the Most High and meet it reasonably without faint-heartedness nor weakness. Whenever I transact business with anyone I pay in cash without giving nor raising credit, except if obliged to do so. If someone asks me for credit I give him the money as a present, but do not refuse if he repays it. In my leisure hours after having finished my practice, I devote myself to godliness, recreating myself by the thought about the 'Kingdom of Heavens and Earth' (9) and praising Him who laid their firm foundations. I read in Aristotle's treatise 'On Economics' (10) and endeavour to follow his prescriptions constantly from morning to evening. In the time of rest I review my actions and sentiments of the same day; what was good and nice and useful, I enjoy, and what was bad and ugly and nocive, I am grieved at and make up my mind not to repeat it."

He (Ibn Ridwân) says moreover: "Concerning recreation, I made my main recreation the thought of Allâh and his praise,

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(8) This self-praise is not confirmed by Ibn Ridwân's polemical works.

(9) Qur'ân, Sûra VII, v. 185.

(10) The Arabic text reads: *fi't-tadbir*, to be supplemented: *fi tadbîr al-manzil* = "On the Administration of the House".

"When I reached my sixth year I began to learn, and when I was ten years old I moved to the Capital and urged on my studies. After having completed fourteen I began to study medicine and philosophy. I had no fortune from which I could have paid for my education and so my studies were hampered by obstacles and difficulties. [p. 100] Sometimes I earned my livelihood by practising astrology, again by medical practice and yet again by giving lessons. So I continued most earnestly my scientific studies until my thirty-second year. In this year I achieved a reputation in medicine, and (from this time onwards) my revenues from medical practice were sufficient, and more than sufficient down to the present date which is the end of my fifty-ninth year. From the excess (of my revenues) over the wants of my livelihood I acquired in this town (Cairo) landed property which is sufficient to secure my living, if Allâh will only grant prosperity, now that I have reached old age. From my thirty-second year down to the present time it has been my custom to make a yearly statement (of my property) for myself and to modify it every year until I brought it up to the present figure at the moment where I am entering my sixtieth year. My activity in my profession every day is sufficient to me as exercise in order to keep myself in good health, and I eat after the rest following (this) exercise, meals (equally) with the purpose of preserving the health. In my professional work, I endeavour to be humble, sociable, helpful to the dejected, to discover the distress of the unfortunate and to help the indigent. I make it my aim in all this to enjoy the satisfaction which comes from good deeds and sentiments, but at the same time this cannot but bring in money which I can spend. I am spending on my health and for the maintenance of my household, neither being a squanderer nor a niggard, as much as to practise the golden mean, as becomes a reasonable mind, at any time. I review the furniture of my household, and I have repaired what needs repair and replaced what needs replacing; I keep, moreover, ready in my house, the necessary provisions of food, drinks, honey, oil, fuel and adequate clothing. The remaining surplus after all these (expenses) I spend for good and useful purposes, as donations to the family,

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less considerably from those to be found in the Arabic text above, we have reproduced this figure on plate V.

"To every man fits that profession which suits him best and agrees with him (his qualities). Now, the medical art comes next to philosophy concerning the submissiveness to Allâh's will, and the astrological omens at my birth indicated that medicine should be my profession. Moreover, a life of distinction was for me more attractive than any other kind of life. Therefore I began my medical studies at the age of fifteen years. The best is to tell you my story entirely from the beginning : I was born in Egypt in the latitude of 30 and the longitude of 55 degrees (3). The ascendent was, according to the table of Yahyâ ibn Abî Mansûr (4) : Aries at 5° 36′, and his tenth was Capricornus at 5° 28′ ; the *loci planetarum* were the following : the sun was in Aquarius at 5° 32′, the moon in Scorpio at 8° 15′, and his southern latitude was 8° 17′ ; Saturn was in Sagittarius at 29°, Jupiter in Capricornus at 5° 28′, Mars in Aquarius at 21° 43′, Venus in Sagittarius at 34° 30′, Mercury in Aquarius at 19° ; the line of fortune (5) was in Capricornus at 4° 5′ and the preceding part of opposition (6) was in Cancer at 22° 10′ ; the Dragon's Head was with Sagittarius at 17° 11′, Dragon's Tail with Orion at 17° 41′, Vega with Capricornus at 1° 22′, Sirius with Cancer at 5° 12′ (7).

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(3) The latitude of Cairo is 30° 6′, the longitude 31° 26′ E (Greenw.).

(4) He was a Persian astronomer who made astronomical observations in Baghdad in 829-30 A.D. and compiled (in Arabic) the so-called Tested Ma'mûnic Astronomical Tables. See SARTON, vol. I, p. 566.

(5) See the Arabic ***Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmans***, Calcutta 1862 (Bibliotheca Indica), p. 698.

(6) *Ibidem*, p. 1205.

(7) Concerning the technical terms and their meanings see *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology by Abu'l-Rayhân Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Bîrûnî*, ed. and transl. by R. Ramsay WRIGHT, London 1934. — There exists in Latin translation only a treatise of Ibn Ridwân *De tribus nativitatibus* (see the biographical fragment No. IV, below) in which he speaks of his own nativity; according to this he was born in the year 356 of the era of Jazdagird, which corresponds to 388 A.H. = 998 A.D. See STEINSCHNEIDER, *Vite di Matematici arabi*, Roma 1874, p. 46, first lines; on p. 56, note, Steinschneider gives a graphical representation of this nativity according to another Latin source, the *Speculum Astrologiae* by FRANCESCO GIUNTINO; although all numbers given there differ more or

not himself contribute anything of importance. I saw, moreover, a book of his on the arrangement of Galen's medical writings and on the manner in which they should be read for study; in it he turns round the sayings of the Alexandrians. His pupils used to relate about him ridiculous things concerning his medical argumentations, astrological sayings and logical assertions, if those who have related them are right. Ibn Ridwân lived continually in Cairo, and he was one of the foremost to give information about the branches of knowledge in which he claimed authority. Finally he died in the sixties of the fifth century. Ibn Ridwân wrote a mediocre scholar's hand which is upright and clear. I saw written by his hand the discourse of al-Hasan ibn al-Hasan ibn al-Haitham (²) on the light of the moon; he had provided the text with beautiful and correct vowel-marks which proves his intense occupation with this matter. At the end of the book he had written: 'Copied by 'Alî ibn Ridwân ibn 'Alî ibn Ja'far the physician for himself; he finished the copy on Friday, mid-Sha'bân of the year 422 of the Hijra of the Prophet' (³).

II. BIOGRAPHY OF 'ALI IBN RIDWAN BY IBN ABI USAIBI'A, *'UYUN AL-ANBA'*

(ed. Cairo 1299/1882, vol. II, p. 99-106)

'Alî ibn Ridwân. He is Abu'l-Hasan 'Alî ibn Ridwân ibn 'Alî ibn Ja'far. He was born and grew up in Cairo (¹) and there he learned medicine. 'Alî ibn Ridwân related in his autobiography on the nature of his medical studies and on his personal conditions the following (²) :

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which starts with a remark of IR on some words of Ptolemy. There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this remark, which may have been taken from the work mentioned in the text.

(²) See below p. 63 n. 17. In his genealogy, IQ's "Ibn al-Ḥasan" should be corrected into "Ibn al-Ḥusain".

(³) i.e. August 6, 1031 A.D.

(¹) Actually he was born in Gîza, on the western bank of the Nile, opposite Old Cairo.

(²) See the following list of his works, No. 15 and 72.

The Biographies

I. BIOGRAPHY OF 'ALI IBN RIDWAN BY IBN AL-QIFTI, *TARIKH AL-HUKAMA'*

(ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, p. 443-4)

Ibn Ridwân the Egyptian. His (full) name is 'Alî ibn Ridwân ibn 'Alî ibn Ja'far the Physician. He was in his time the (most) learned man of Egypt in the days of (the Caliph) al-Mustansir, in the middle of the fifth century (A.H.). He was in the beginning of his career an astrologer sitting at the wayside and earning his living in a non-scientific manner, as is the habit of astrologers. [p. 444] Then he studied some medicine and some logic; but he was a man of narrow mind and not of sound judgment. He was, moreover, not of good looks and appearance. Nevertheless, many pupils followed his lectures and studied under him, and his fame spread abroad. He composed books which are not of first importance, being but compilations and extracts; they are nevertheless original and well conceived. Ibn Butlân had with him meetings, discussions and controversies of which I mentioned something in my biography of Ibn Butlân [see below, biography No. VI.]. I saw a book of Ibn Ridwân on astrology in which he gives a commentary on Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum* (1), but he does

(1) Exists in MSS. in the Bodleian Library (I No. 992) and in the Escurial Library (2nd edition of the catalogue, vol. I, No. 908), as well as in Latin translation (see BROCKELMANN, vol. II, p. 484, No. 4,16). There exists in the National Library in Cairo on fol. 1-3 of the very small volume No. 213 *Majâmî'* M (see the catalogue, 1st ed., vol. VII, p. 687) a short treatise with the title "Various Remarks on the Continual Rising and Falling of the Nile, by Ibn Ridwân", giving astrological prognostics for the higher or lower level of the river. As, however, on the top of fol. 2b occurs the date 855 A.H. (1451 A.D.), Ibn Riḍwân cannot be the author. That wrong attribution probably comes from a misunderstanding of the beginning of the treatise

used by us as a basis for establishing the text; as appears from the differences of wording in many places and even the transposition of whole phrases and passages [30], we are here in presence of a different recension (or different recensions) of our text.

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[30] The most significant instance of this is to be found in IQ, p. 307, l. 12-8 where an additional and doubtless original paragraph is inserted, with a consequent difference in the numbering of the following paragraphs. The text of IQ and IAU is, by the way, more than once corrected by the readings of the Mosul manuscript.

No. 1264. In that collection of medical tracts our treatise occupies the third place. This text always follows the Taimûr manuscript as against the Mosul copy, even in the case of evident faults. (There are, further, additional faults in the Bodleian manuscript and very rarely corrections of evident mistakes in the original). The writer of the Taimûr manuscript had chosen to arrange the questions forming the last part of this treatise in two columns, writing one question in the right column and the following question in the left one, then going over to the right again and so on, even if the last lines of the respective questions are not parallel; sometimes he writes in long lines across the whole of the page, then remembers and goes over to the system of columns again. The copyist of the Bodleian copy evidently felt embarrassed at this, so that there are in this part of the treatise many faults, displacements and lacunae. Moreover, the Bodleian manuscript has been directly copied from the Taimûr copy; this is evident from the transition from p. 24 (Taimûr), first column, to p. 25. This passage with its catchword added by the second hand in the Taimûr MS., is slavishly copied in the middle of a page in the Bodleian manuscript (see plate 2 and 3). So the Bodleian copy has no independant value at all, and we have omitted to mention its readings in the apparatus, except where it gives a secondary correction of the Taimûr manuscript. It is, however, dated (not our treatise itself, but the preceding one, written by the same hand) in the year 975 A.H.; therefore the Taimûr manuscript must be older.

Treatise No. 5 also exists in a parallel copy: the manuscript Or. 958 Warner of the University Library at Leiden, described in *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, vol. III, p. 224, No. 1334. Here the treatise, the thirty-fifth of the different tracts composing the volume, occupies fol. 136 a (containing the title) — 139 a. This copy is dated in the year 943 A.H.; its text is very good and in most cases superior to that of the Mosul manuscript. There are also a few errors in common, but again such as could have arisen independently on both sides.

For the third treatise there exist literary parallels in the excerpts given by Ibn Abî Usaibi'a and Ibn al-Qiftî in their biographies of Ibn Ridwân and Ibn Butlân respectively ('*Uyûn al-anbâ'*, vol. II., p. 101,23-102,23; *Târîkh al-hukamâ'*, p. 298,17-314,20). Notwithstanding their age, these fragments could not be

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The whole series of the five treatises which are published and translated here, fully or in part, for the first time, has come down to us in a manuscript containing various medical works, preserved in the library of the *Madrasa Aḥmadîya* in Mosul and mentioned as No. 152 on p. 33 foll. of the *Book on the Manuscripts of Mosul* by Dr. Dâwûd al-Chalabî (كتاب مخطوطات الموصل *Kitâb Makhtûtât al-Mawsil*, Baghdad 1346/1927). The treatises occupy, as Nos. 16-20, the end of the volume on fol. 150 b - 153 b, 153 b - 159 a, 159 a - 165 b, 165 b - 168 b, 168 b - 169 b respectively. There is no detailed description of the manuscript available, but from the photographs which we received thanks to the kind intervention of Dr. Chalabî, the height of each page is 2.4 times its breadth with sometimes more than 50 lines to each page; the writing is in a good scholarly hand, current and not always easy to decipher, but very accurate and provided with most of the diacritical points. There is no date, but the manuscript is evidently old. Its text is very much superior to that of Taimûr Pasha's copy (see below).

Treatise No. I is also preserved in the manuscript 407 *Tibb* of the late Ahmad Pasha Taimûr's collection, now in the National Library at Cairo. This is a volume of 128 pages in all of 16x21 cm, consisting of three treatises (two on medicine, the third one on alchemy) written by different hands. Our treatise occupies the first place, on p. 2-29 (page 1 exhibits the title, repeated by a later hand); it is written in some 20 lines to the page by a large, beautiful, careful hand, abundantly provided with diacritical points and vowels, and in some places retouched later on (these later variants have been disregarded in our collation). In this MS. there is no date either, but it must be older than the copy of the Bodleian which is derived from it (see below). There are a few errors common to the Mosul and the Taimûr manuscripts, but such as could have arisen independently in each.

The third manuscript containing the text of treatise No. I is, however, directly dependent on the preceding one. It is the codex Hunt. 502, described in Uri's *Bibliothecae Bodleianae Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium Catalogus*, vol. I (Oxford 1782),

mainly by the study of ancient authors. We saw before that IR himself had followed this way of self-instruction. The extracts from the fragment which we have just given show IR's great knowledge of ancient medicine, and mainly of Galen's works several of which he had summarized and commented upon for his pupils. On the other hand, they show also that IR was not an original thinker, but a mere exponent of Hippocrates' and Galen's thought without adding anything in the least original or of his own, except for his list of remedies which were unknown to the Greeks. He is the true representative of that scholastic turn of mind which prevailed in medicine and philosophy dating from the Hellenistic period. He does not allow an original thinker like Rhazes, to deviate in the least from the thought of Galen. And Galen himself had prepared the way for scholasticism, because he was convinced that medicine could be transformed into an exact science like mathematics and astronomy. For this purpose he gave for every kind of disease fixed classifications and determined rules for the treatment, so that, in his opinion, every medical man who possessed his system could be able to make the diagnosis and to prescribe the one and only treatment indicated without difficulty. As in other ancient medical systems, so in the Galenic system prevailed the idea of the perfect correspondence of the Macro- and the Microcosm. That means, e.g., that the four elements, earth, water, fire and air, were represented by the four qualities (of temperaments, humours, diseases, etc.) dry, moist, warm and cold, and in the human body by the four elementary humours, viz. blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile. This doctrine, firmly anchored in the minds of so many generations of physicians who were not inclined, and, moreover, prevented by religious laws, to do dissections and experiments, prevailed until the end of the XVIth century and was strong enough to struggle against the medical renaissance until the beginning of the XVIIIth century. We must have in mind these facts in order to understand the "scientific" part of the controversy between Ibn Ridwân and Ibn Butlân.

We now pass under review the manuscripts and texts containing the controversial debate between the two learned physicians. After that we shall give the biographies of the medical men and extracts from the polemic tracts in translation. The Arabic texts will follow.

IR takes the part of Galen against Thessalus and the Methodist school and defends Galen against the criticism by Rhazes of his redundancy and partiality, as well as his pretended actual errors, which according to IR are all on Rhazes' side. IR always quotes first a passage from Rhazes' epitome and then criticises it. He accuses Rhazes himself to be, amongst many contemporaries, a follower of the Methodists without being conscious of it, whilst claiming at the same time to follow Hippocrates and Galen. The first book of Galen's *Methodus Medendi* is concerned with the Methodists only; but Rhazes in his epitome speaks of all three Greek medical schools which are, in addition to the Methodists, the Dogmatists (Dogmatics; in Arabic; اصحاب القياس *as-hâb al qiyâs*) and the Empirists (Empirics; اصحاب التجارب *as-hâb at-tajârib*). The discussion of these three schools, according to IR, is out of place here, belonging rather to a commentary of Galen's *De Sectis*. This is one example out of many of the rather sterile polemic which IR, notwithstanding his profound knowledge of Galen's main work on *Methodus Medendi* and of the terminology of Greek medicine in general, carried on against Rhazes. His last main point is the refutation of the definition of disease which Rhazes had opposed to that of Galen. All those faults come, according to IR, from a lack of preliminary study of logic. Rhazes' summary of the second and the following books of Galen's *Methodus Medendi* is, always according to IR, scarcely better. At the very end of this chapter, IR exhorts his pupils to consider his sayings, in order to avoid the mistakes of such eminent scholars as Hunain and Rhazes, and to become "an excellent physician and a perfect philosopher" like Galen himself.

Here ends the first "discourse" of Ibn Ridwân's book on medical learning. The two other "discourses" which are lost continued, probably, the author's plea for learning medicine

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instruction at the bed of the patient. Galen attacked him vigorously, not only on account of his quackery, but still more so for his medical theories which were opposed to those of Hippocrates and the old Dogmatist school. Thessalos ascribed much more importance to practical training and claimed to be able to teach his medical system to everyone within six months.

lengthy polemic remarks against Hunain ibn Is-hâq, the eminent Galenic translater, whom he accuses of having misunderstood and distorted the meanings of the great Greek ; for Hunain not only translated the Greek medical books, but made many extracts of them for the use of his pupils, of which the most famous are his "Medical Questions," an exposé of Galen's main doctrines in the form of queries and answers. IR in that part of his argument which has survived does not mention this work, but lays on Hunain's *Isagoge* the blame of having disfigured Galen's ideas on several important questions, for instance on black and yellow bile. Now follows another considerable gap in the MS., and when we resume again, IR is beginning to attack yet another and still greater physician of the Islamic period, Abû Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakarîyâ' ar-Râzî (*Rhazes*, lived 865-925 A.D.). Rhazes was not only a great physician, but also a prominent alchemist and sceptic philosopher. He composed more than 230 works on different branches of knowledge ; but IR is without pity on him and reproaches him with having no profound knowledge either of logic or of astronomy or of natural science [28]. IR claims that Rhazes did not understand the true meaning of Galen either and criticises to this effect on many a page Rhazes' epitome of the contents of Galen's *Methodus Medendi*, especially its first book where Galen speaks of the school of the Methodists (in Arabic : اصحاب الحِيَل ، اصحاب الحيلة *as-hâb al-hîla* or *al-hiyal*) and of the (second) Principal of this school, Thessalus of Tralles [29].

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xandrien nach Bagdad; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des philosophischen und medizinischen Unterrichts bei den Arabern, in *Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., vol.* XXIII (Berlin 1930), p. 388-429; and M. MEYERHOF, *La fin de l'école d'Alexandrie d'après quelques auteurs arabes*, in *Bull. de l'Institut d'Egypte*, T. XV (Le Caire 1933), p. 109-23.

(28) That Rhazes was a first rate clinician, the best of the "Arabic" period, has been proved by E.G. BROWNE (*Arabian Medicine*, Cambridge 1921, p. 49-53) and M. MEYERHOF (*Thirty-three Clinical Observations by Rhazes*, in *Isis*, vol. XXIII, Bruges 1935, p. 321-56).

(29) Thessalus, according to Galen, fought against Hippocrates opinions, was conceited, of boastful pretension and had quackish habits. On the other hand, as far as we know from fragments of his works, he was of practical insight and was the first physician to give medical

the necessary intelligence, modesty and self-restraint, and patience for the study and the copying of scientific books. Before the real medical studies the learning of arithmetics, mathematics and logic is indispensable for the training of the intelligence; the student should however be warned against obstinacy and against loosing his way amidst these preliminaries.

The seventh chapter bears the title: "On the Useful Method of Studying the Medical Art." The study of Galen's medical writings may be done according to his own booklet *De Ordine Librorum Suorum* or according to the arrangement of his books made by the Alexandrians — or his commentaries on Hippocrates may be studied according to the order given above for Hippocrates' writings. This theoretical study can be done with the aid of a well qualified teacher or by independent work; the student should confine himself to the books of Hippocrates and Galen. At the same time there must be practical instruction in the different branches of medicine, orthopaedics, surgery and ophthalmology. Pharmacology and nutrition are not to be neglected. The author insists on inspection and personal practice. IR. however, does not give here any advice with whom and how this knowledge of the special branches of medicine can be acquired, he only speaks of the high qualities asked of the teacher and which the pupil should cultivate in himself. IR goes on to speak of questions of medical ethics, the medical fee, the merit of free treatment of the poor and needy, etc.

The eighth and by far the longest chapter deals with the study of Hippocrates' and Galen's works according to the summary of twenty books compiled by the Alexandrians. Four were devoted to Hippocrates, sixteen to Galen, preceded in the course of study by four books on logic: Pythagoras, and Περὶ ἑρμηνείας, the Analytics (*qiyâs*) and the Apodeictic (*burhân*) of Aristotle. IR relates the circumstances under which these compendiums were made; but just at the critical moment where he passes on to give information about the transference of the Alexandrian school to Asia under the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz (719-21 A.D.) whose name appears at the end of the page, the destruction of at least one leaf of our unique MS. creates a regrettable gap [27]. When the MS. re-begins IR is already in the middle of

(27) On this interesting problem, see M. MEYERHOF, *Von Ale-*

himself. Thus Galen mentions sixteen kinds of "corrupt temperament"; by combining this with his doctrine of the parts of the liver which are subject to these diseases, we find that he has made provision for not less than 48 kinds of "corrupt temperament" of the liver, etc. IR here mentions many of Galen's works: *De Locis Affectis*, "On Temperaments," "On Causes and Symptoms," "On Fevers," "On the Pulse," the *Methodus Medendi* and the different works on simple and compound remedies. Last but not least, IR goes on to say, Galen wrote his incomparable commentaries on Hippocrates' works. The compendiums written after Galen, on the contrary, mark a decay in Medicine, inasmuch as they are spoiled by the introduction of the doctrines of the Methodist school which were disapproved of by Galen himself, because it was a purely practical system without theoretical foundation. Even inasmuch as the works of the later authors are only compendiums of and commentaries on, Galen's writings, they cannot make those fundamental books superfluous and even distract attention from them. Consequently, of the whole period after Hippocrates, only Galen's works should be studied. A special difficulty in the study of Galen consists in the fact that he had to fight the "Sophists" and had to apply their method of argumentation and to accept current but ambiguous ideas. Therefore the training of the physician in logic is indispensable.

In chapter six IR speaks of the things which have to precede medical learning. There are two kinds of physicians. One kind, which has no aptitude for study, is bent on earning money, and as soon as they attain their aim, they give themselves up to a comfortable life. Some of them frequent the society of the rich as Galen has described in the first book of the *Methodus Medendi*, others go round from house to house in order to ask for patients, others establish open-door offices by the way-side. The second kind is bent on study (without loosing thereby the chance of an appropriate income). As the first kind also claims to care for the perfecting of their profession, Galen has written a special book on the distinction between the true and the false physician [26]. Not everyone is apt for the medical profession; so he who intends studying medicine, must test himself as to whether he possesses

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[26] The book which was entitled "The Examination of the Perfect Physician" existed in Arabic translation and was well-known to the Arabs; this as well as the Greek original text are lost.

physician a book on *Materia Medica*, and he tries to trace the reasons why he did not write it. He thinks particularly, that Hippocrates realised that the knowledge of medicinal drugs cannot be acquired but by practice.

In the fifth chapter IR discusses Galen's manner of teaching. He begins by praising Galen's so truly enormous medical work; even apparent contradictions in Galen's writings only prove his universality in medicine. Thus, Galen said in the fourth book of "On Simple Drugs" that *serum lactis* is of "cold and moist" temperament, while he says in the second book of his "On Aliments" that it is "hot and sharp." This he did in order to differentiate its different actions according to the case. Another peculiarity of Galen is that of speaking sometimes like the Empirists and sometimes like the Dogmatists. Thus his book "On Simple Drugs" is conceived according to the tenets of the Methodists, but Galen nevertheless refers to the great *Materia Medica* of Dioscurides (first cent. A.D.), as being the best book from the empirical point of view, inviting the student to form his own opinion about the matter. Much stress has been laid on the drugs which were unknown to the Greeks — which the author estimates at about sixty in number —; but what about the 300, roughly speaking, of which knowledge has been lost since the time of the Greeks ? Both Galen and Dioscurides were founders of two systems which enable every attentive student to assign to any new drug its proper place in them. The third characteristic feature of Galen's teaching is, according to IR, his being the creator of a clear-cut system of diseases and their causes, which was destined to prevail during the Middle Ages in the Orient as well as in the Occident. Some of the popularly-known diseases have not found their places in the Galenic system, but they are easily classified in it (so e.g. القطرب *al-qutrub* i.e. "the demon," a kind of melancholy, and ام الصبيان *umm as-sibyân* = infantile convulsion). Another peculiarity of Galen is that he always prescribed the compound remedies according to the climate, in his case the more northern climate of Rome, while the medical practitioners of southern lands, as Egypt and 'Irâq, are obliged to modify the prescriptions according to the hot climate. The same peculiarity which characterises Galen's system of drugs, applies also to his classification of diseases: he does not elaborate all details but enables the student to find them out for

myrobalans'' and led the public and even the doctors into error. Many drugs which were known to the Greeks, have fallen into oblivion, as, witness, the grains of the Judas-tree, while others are nowadays of very different qualities, as e.g. rhubarb. IR then compares the description of the balsam from Palestine and Egypt given by Dioscurides and Galen with the present drug. So nowadays the welfare of the patient is endangered by two factors : the deficient knowledge of the physician and the bad quality of the drugs which he prescribes. If the patient survives it is only by his good luck, and if he dies it is surely the fault of the physician.

In the fourth chapter IR explains the aims of Hippocrates' medical works. Hippocrates himself, unlike Galen, did not give any advice concerning the study of his books, as he considered oral instruction by the teacher as indispensable. This, incidentally, does not agree with IR's opinion on the method of studying medicine. IR claims to be able to supply this lacuna, as he had studied Hippocrates' works methodically, copying some of them himself or buying and correcting manuscripts of some others. IR recommends the reading of Hippocrates' books in the following order: first his book ''On the Foetus,'' then ''On the Nature of Man'' and ''On Airs, Waters and Places,'' then the ''Aphorisms,'' the ''Prognostic,'' the ''Gynaecology'' and the ''Epidemics'' (the text reads ''The Book of the Hot Diseases''). As regards this last work, the author reminds us that, according to Galen and Hunain, the books IV, V and VII are not written by Hippocrates, that the books I and II are by Hippocrates himself (24), while III and VI are notes composed either by Hippocrates himself or by his son (25). Then IR mentions the books ''On Humours,'' ''On Nutriment'' and ''The Physician's Office,'' and from Hippocrates' surgical books : ''On Joints'' and ''On Wounds of the Head.'' IR misses among the works of the great Greek

(24) The text of the MS. is corrupt here, but there is no doubt about the author's meaning.

(25) The modern philology thinks that books I and III on the one hand, and II, IV and VI on the other hand form unities, while V and VII were composed later, probably by physicians belonging to the Cnidian medical school.

Galen compendiums (*kanâ'ish*, plur. of *kunnâsh* ([23])) by which medical learning was spread abroad among a much wider public. After them, many compendiums were composed, and Abû Bakr ar-Râzî (the great Persian physician) even went so far as to demand that every practitioner should compose a compendium for his own use. But this had the undesirable consequence of making the physicians lazier and less inclined to study the original works of Hippocrates and Galen. They had books in their libraries, studying them not, earning their livelihood easily without much pains. So the public was no longer able to distinguish between a really learned physician and a mere superficial and ignorant practitioner; the medical profession was more and more scorned and considered only as a source of income (صناعة الفقراء *sinâ'at al-fuqarâ'* "a profession for the poor"). Once the author was witness when a father blamed his son and told him: "You are a shame to me because you take up the medical profession!" This is what has become of the profession which was so much honored in bygone times that Hippocrates refused to treat the king Codros for hundred hundred-weights of gold (*sic*) as insufficient reward for his skill.

Therefore, in the third chapter, the author tries to trace a way for improving the conditions of the medical profession. First of all, the physicians must have in the future a better knowledge of the medicinal drugs than they had in the author's days, so much the more necessary, since merchants and druggists care about neither the identity nor the quality of the drugs they are selling and even kings are not interested in the products of their own countries. Moreover, the quality of drugs changes every year, and the author witnessed a considerable change in the course of twenty years. So much more considerable must have been the change which took place within the thousand years that have elapsed since Galen. The author gives some characteristic stories about the difficulties to be met with in his day, e.g. the narrative of a tradesman who brought back from India unripe myrobalans — a quite unefficacious drug — and tried to sell them in vain at 'Aden and Jedda, until he succeeded in selling them for a low price to an old Cairo druggist who resold the bad wares as "stone-less real

([25]) See below, p. 65 n. 33.

the way in which the pupil may learn medicine from books without a teacher, and even in shorter time than with an instructor.

In chapter two, dismissing the question wether the ancient sciences really go back to the ancient Egyptians through the philosophers and the Jews, IR speaks only of the manner in which the ancient Greeks used to teach medicine : he gives, after Galen, a history of the first Greek medical schools of which he mentions those of Rhodes, Cnidos and Cos, and of the early transmission of medicine by family succession. He then speaks of Hippocrates, whose difficult style gives him matter for complaint, of his successors and of Galen to whom he ascribes an overwhelming knowledge of all kinds of learning, even Indian (*sic*). Galen was a follower of Hippocrates and disapproved of the other medical schools of his age, but nevertheless studied and developed Hippocrates' doctrines. Immediately after him came the Christians who gave up scientific research, so that a part of the scholars (the philosophers of Athens and the Nestorians) had to emigrate to Persia. Then came Islam, and the Muslim rulers — 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz, Hârûn al-Rashîd and his son al-Ma'mûn are named — promoted again the sciences and created a renaissance of the ancient knowledge. The foremost translator of the books of Hippocrates and Galen into Syriac and Arabic was Hunain ibn Is-hâq — and he was followed by others, e.g. Sergius of Ra's al-'Ain [22], Abû Sa'îd (MS. Sa'd) ibn al-Karkhî (probably Hunain's pupil 'Uthmân ad-Dimishqî), Ayyûb ar-Ruhâwî (Job of Edessa) and Ibn al-Bitrîq. Owing to their diligence the bulk of the sciences of the Ancients was translated into Arabic. Galen has established the order in which the medical books of Hippocrates and his own books are to be studied, and he advised the student to learn logic and mathematics before studying medicine. In the meantime, the Christian rulers also had come to favour a renaissance of ancient learning ; so Oribasius (IVth cent. A.D.) and Paul of Aegina (VIIIth cent.) created from the voluminous writings of Hippocrates and

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[22] This is a chronological error of IR, as Sergius, a Christian priest and archiater in Alexandria, lived three centuries before Ḥunain and died in 536 A.D. He translated works of Hippocrates and Galen into Syriac.

gave a translation [20]. It contains a medical topography of Cairo and its suburbs during the V/XIth cent. and relates the unhygienic habits of its people, explaining in this manner the diseases which were prevalent in Egypt in those days. In Astronomy we notice the books which are mentioned hereafter in the list of IR's works. One of these survives in an Arabic MS. in Oxford, and the Escurial Library also possesses a copy; it is his commentary on Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum* which has also been translated and printed in Latin [21]. Three minor scripts on Logic are extant in a MS. at the Escurial Library.

To illustrate Ibn Ridwân's erudition in Greek medicine we give an extract from the above mentioned book which bears the full title of "The Useful Book on the Teaching of the Medical Art" (الكتاب النافع في تعليم صناعة الطب *Al-Kitâb an-Nâfi' fî Ta'lîm Sinâ'at at-Tibb*). It is mentioned by Ibn Abî Usaibi'a (II 103 line 29) as consisting of three parts. Only one part of this book is in existence, under No. 483 *Tibb*, in the National Library in Cairo. This fragment, moreover, has two serious gaps, and so an edition is not possible, as long as a second and more complete MS. is not available.

The Cairo MS. contains the greatest part of the eight chapters which compose the first "discourse" of this book. In the first chapter IR explains the reason why he had composed his book. He had witnessed lectures of medical teachers who did not give any commentary on the texts which the pupils read out before them after having memorized them, as should have been expected according to the habits of scholastic teaching. Therefore he found people quite ignorant of medicine. Having read in Galen's *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* that the study of mathematics and logic is a condition for the intelligent comprehension of medical books, he set out to study those sciences first and then found himself able of attaining perfection in medicine. Therefore IR intends showing

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(20) M. MEYERHOF, *Climate and Health in Old Cairo According to 'Alî ibn Ridwân*, in Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Médecine Tropicale et d'Hygiène, Le Caire Décembre 1928, vol. II (Le Caire 1929), p. 211-39.

(21) *Ptolomaei Quadripartitum .... cum Glossis prudentissimi Heben Rodan Physici* etc. (Venetiis 1493, reprinted in 1519).

cause it gives advice how to discover bodily defects in slaves offered for sale; it is preserved in a unique MS. in Berlin. Fragments of IB's report on his journey through the Near East, addressed to Hilâl as-Sâbi', are preserved by Ibn al-Qiftî and Yâqût; we shall give them in IB's biography.

Of ibn Ridwân's scientific output — it reaches nearly one hundred, if we consider the duplicates under different titles, but many of the items represent no doubt but small tracts, and others are unfinished notes — about one fifty only in extant in the form of Arabic manuscripts ([18]). Most of the items are medical and in substance follow closely the works of Galen. Take for example his treatises on the number of fevers, on their periods, on milk, on barley and barley-water, on drinks, and a short discourse on the fact "that every organ is nourished by the humour corresponding to its nature." Then we have his commentaries on Galen's books "On Medical Sects," "On Elements," on his *De Arte Medendi ad Glauconem* and on his *Ars parva*; this latter commentary was translated into Latin and printed ([19]). Several minor treatises, answers to queries, and aphorisms exist in a Gotha miscellany. Two of Ibn Ridwân's more original productions are in the National Library of Cairo: one is a fragment of his book "On Medical Learning" (*Fî Ta'lîm at-Tibb*) in which the author fights for his ideal of learning by the study of ancient works alone; he exhibits in it a remarkable knowledge of Greek medical writers, as we will see hereafter. The other is a short treatise "On the Prevention of Bodily Ills in Egypt" (فى دفع مضار الابدان بارض مصر *Fî Daf' Madârr al-Abdân bi-Ard Misr*) of which two copies exist in the Library. It comprises fifteen chapters dealing with the conditions of health and disease in Egypt and Cairo, refuting the opinions thereupon of Ibn al-Jazzâr (a Tunisian physician of the IV/Xth cent.), speaking of plague and its causes, of the ignorance of medical practitioners, and recommending preventive measures and hygienic rules for the inhabitants of Egypt. The most interesting is the sixth chapter of which M. MEYERHOF formerly

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([18]) See BROCKELMANN, vol. I, p. 484.

([19]) *Haly Eben Rodan s. Rodoham Aegyptii Commentarius in artem Parvam Galeni* etc. (Venetiis 1496).

an admonition to disregard in the future the Baghdad physician during his sojourn in Cairo.

As we stated before, it seems that this mode of instigation to boycott was effective, as IB left Cairo in wrath. He is said to have written later on a second reply to IR, but this document has not come down to us. The whole controversy is of special interest because the two adversaries tried to exhibit in it their entire erudition, particularly in Greek medicine and philosophy. Both of them were men of remarkable learning, but Ibn Butlân was superior to Ibn Ridwân by his education in Greek and Syriac and by a remarkable training in the Islamic sciences, as well as in Arabic literature, joined to his familiarity with the tenets of the Christian faith, which he had probably acquired in Baghdad. His scientific output was much less abundant than that of Ibn Ridwân, but more original. Several of Ibn Butlân's works are preserved in manuscript, and one of them in a Latin translation. This is his تقويم الصحة *Taqwîm as-Sihha*, a synopsis of hygiene and macrobiotics in the form of tables; it was translated very early and printed with woodcuts in Strasburg in 1531 (15). More curious is Ibn Butlân's ingenious satire دعوة الاطباء *Da'wat al-Atibbâ'* ("Medical Dinner Party"), a witty libel on quacks, their ignorance and arrogance. It exists in many Arabic manuscripts, and has been printed — in rather an inadequate manner (16) —, deserving a better and commented edition. Another treatise concerns diseases which are provoked by aliments and remedies; several MSS. of it exist in European libraries (17). Another work of Ibn Butlân is curious be-

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(15) *Tacuini Sanitatis Elluchasem Elimithar (sic*, a mutilation of Abu' l-Ḥasan al-Mukhtâr) *Medici de Baldath* etc., Argentorati 1531. A German translation from the Latin text was published under the title: *Schachtaffeln der Gesundheit .... verteutscht durch Mich. Hero*, Strassburg 1533. For the Arabic MSS. see BROCKELMANN, vol. I, p. 483.

(16) كتاب دعوة الاطباء على مذهب كليلة ودمنة ed. Dr Bishâra Zalzal, Alexandria 1901. An appreciation with a French synopsis was published on the occasion of the International Congress of Tropical Hygiene in Cairo: *Un banquet de médecins au temps de l'émir Nasr el-Dawla ibn Marwân (Dadwat el Atibba d'Ibn Batlane)* par le Dr. Mahmoud Sedky Bey, Le Caire 1928.

(17) See BROCKELMANN, vol. I, p. 483.

against the reproach that he had prescribed in Cairo remedies which were not appropriate to the Egyptian climate, adducing as example the climate of his home-town Baghdad. After this he relates his experiences with two ignorant pupils of IR, and finishes by exhibiting his profound knowledge of the works of Galen and of the Alexandrian physicians who had made summaries of Galen's works some time before the Arab invasion. In the fifth section IB discusses the influence of climate, season and race on disease and health; in the sixth he examines the argumentation of the Ancients as exemplified by Greek rhetors (Corax), physicians and philosophers (Socrates). He continues with nasty attacks on the ugly exterior of his adversary IR, because IR had been so imprudent to criticise IB's outer appearance, adding the sarcasm of asking IR a legal opinion (*fatwâ*) on his own qualities and giving his fictitious answer. IB contests also the refutation by IR of some opinions of Hunain, the celebrated translator of the IXth cent. A.D., exhibiting on this occasion his knowledge of Muhammadan law. In the seventh and last section IB refutes one by one many opinions emitted by IR and finishes by an ironical hint at the day of judgment when the patients killed by doctors will bring in their claims.

It goes without saying that IR's temper was raised to white-heat by such a tremendous attack. He began to answer even before he had received the entire pamphlet of IB (this is the fourth treatise of our publication), and tried to refute all the indictions one by one, not sparing indeed sneering and abusive terms. The main blame which he attaches to his adversary is that he is ignorant of the meanings of the Greek authors and not capable of understanding them. He justifies his criticism by quoting Plato, Aristotle, Porphyry, Themistius, John the Grammarian, Hippocrates and Galen. Not satisfied with this reply, IR continued by a "Message to the Physicians of Cairo" (the fifth treatise of the present publication) in which he expounded once more in detail all the alleged mistakes or misunderstandings of IB, especially concerning fevers and their treatment. He then attacks him on account of his prescriptions in his practice, alleging that he treated patients of all ages and constitutions by the same remedies. He compares this with the judicious and appropriate treatment described by Hippocrates and commented on by Galen. **He concludes with a warning** to the Cairo practitioners against the doctrines of IB and with

well-known fact that the chicken when just hatched from the egg is able to pick up its food, while the young of flying birds require several weeks fostering by their parents. As, according to the doctrines of Aristotle and Galen, bodies and organs of quick movement are "warmer" than such of slow movement, the quick-moving chicken must be considered to be warmer than the young of the bird. Ibn Butlân (IB) when told this thought that al-Yabrûdî's conclusion was not supported by a sufficient argumentation, and he undertook to furnish anew the arguments in favour of al-Yabrûdî's puzzling conclusion, although he did not agree with it. IB qualifies the traditional view as the correct one and states that he composed his treatise (the first treatise of our publication) as an "intellectual juggle and gymnastics" in order to test the intelligence of the reader. Ibn Ridwân must have felt himself hit, because Ibn Butlân made strong allegations against an Egyptian physician, probably one of Ibn Ridwân's pupils, who had been present at the discussion in the Vizier's palace.

On this Ibn Ridwân (IR) answered by a pamphlet, which is apparently lost, and by another treatise (the second of this publication). Here, he accuses IB of wrong interpretation of al-Yabrûdî's meanings, of lies, frauds and lack of logical reasoning. The undercurrent of his discourse is rude and discourteous. IB's answer was not long in coming; it is a rather lengthy treatise (the third of our publication) which the author entitled "The Egyptian Missive," composed in Fustât (the southern part of the capital) in the month of pilgrimage 441 A.H. (i.e. May 1050 A.D.). The attack on IR is laid out in an introduction and seven sections with their subdivisions. In the first section IB exposes the opinion that he who learns from the living word of the teacher learns better than he who learns from books only. We have seen before that IR had not been able to afford a teacher and had learned medicine and philosophy only by eager study of books. IB exemplifies the correctness of his view by reference to Aristotle and his pupils, and points out the numerous mistakes and false interpretations in handwritten books which can be rectified only by a learned teacher. He continues the same argument in the next two sections, and introduces in the very interesting fourth section numerous examples on the correct interpretation of the meanings of ancient authors, quoting Aristotle, Galen, their Arabic commentators and followers. He then defends himself

The cause of the controversy between the two reputed practitioners was insignificant : Among the Arabic physicians prevailed the opinion, perhaps following some Greek physiological theory, that the nature of the young of the bird was "warmer" than that of the chicken, but that this warmth was compensated in its early stage by a strongly prevalent moisture. Now, when Ibn Butlân arrived in Cairo he heard, at the occasion of a scientific meeting in the Vizier's palace, that al-Yabrûdî, a Christian (Jacobite) physician of Damascus, had baffled the Egyptian physicians by an argument that led to the opposite conclusion, and that he had composed a short treatise entitled "That the Young of the Bird is Colder than the Chicken." He had based his assertion on the

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IBN ABI USAIBI'A, *'Uyûn al-Anbâ'*, ed A. Müller (Königsberg and Cairo 1882-4), vol. I, p. 241-3 and other places.

STEINSCHNEIDER, *Al-Fârâbi* (Mém. de l'Ac. Imp. des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, VIIe série, t. XIII, No. 4, 1869), p. 165-6.

STEINSCHNEIDER, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache* (Leipzig 1877), p. 97 and 147.

STEINSCHNEIDER, *Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin 1893), p. 741, 872, 975.

STEINSCHNEIDER, *Vite di matematici arabi tratte da un'opera di Bernardino Baldi* (Roma 1874), p. 46-8, 50 (containing the old literature).

V. ROSEN, *Yahyâ ibn Sa'id ibn al-Batriq*, St. Petersburg 1883 (Zap. Imp. Ak. Nauk, vol. XLIV, No. 1), p. 33-52.

WUESTENFELD, *Geschichte der arabischen Aerzte und Naturforscher* (Göttingen 1840), p. 78-9.

L. LECLERC, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, vol. I (Paris 1876), p. 489-92.

C. BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, vol. I (Weimar 1898), p. 483.

H. SUTER, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke* (Leipzig 1900), p. 103 foll.

BARHEBRAEUS, *Târikh Mukhtasar ad-Duwal*, ed. Sâlihânî (Bairût 1890), 140, 331 foll., 366.

L. CHOULANT, *Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die ältere Medizin* (Leipzig 1841), p. 368 foll.

G. SARTON, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol. I (Baltimore 1927), p. 730 foll.

E. G. BROWNE, *Arabian Medicine* (Cambridge 1921), p. 72-3.

PH. HITTI, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior* (New York 1929), p. 214-6.

Ibn Ridwân's adversary was al-Mukhtâr ibn Butlân, a Christian of Baghdad (he bore, besides, the Christian name Johannes), where he studied Medicine with several teachers in the (mostly Christian) quarter al-Karkh. His most famous professor was the Christian priest, philosopher and physician Abu'l-Faraj 'Abdallâh ibn at-Tayyib. It would appear that Ibn Butlân was his most prominent pupil. In 440/1048 he left Baghdad and travelled to Aleppo, where he stayed during some time, then to Antioch and Laodicea whence he continued via Jaffa to Egypt. He arrived in Cairo at the beginning of the year 441 (June 1049) and made in this capital a sojourn of three years. It may be that he hoped for himself a position at the court of the Caliph al-Mustansir who was well disposed to non-Muslim physicians, and that he excited in this way immediately the jealousy of Ibn Ridwân. Anyhow, according to some biographer, Ibn Butlân undertook the journey from Baghdad to Egypt with the intention of making the acquaintance of Ibn Ridwân. But he found himself confronted by the hostility of his colleague and was still in the same year 441 entangled in the scientific controversy which forms the subject-matter of our essay. He is said to have left Cairo in wrath, after having sustained bitter attacks levelled at him by Ibn Ridwân. He then paid a visit to Constantinople where he witnessed a severe epidemic of plague, and returned to Syria. There he settled down in Antioch — of which town he had already given a vivid and interesting description in the relation of his outward journey — and became a monk in one of the numerous convents of this place. The exact date of his death is not known, but as late as 455 A.H. (1063 A.D.) we find him, according to Ibn Abî Usaibi'a, entrusted with the erection of the hospital of that town. We will treat of his scientific works when commenting (below, p. 18 (on the list of his writings [14]).

G. GABRIELI, *Medici e scienziati arabi: 'Ali ibn Ridwân*, in *ISIS*, vol. VI (Bruxelles 1924), p. 501-6.

L. CHOULANT, *Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die ältere Medizin* (Leipzig 1841), p. 370.

G. SARTON, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol. I (Baltimore 1927), p. 729 foll.

[14] Bibliography of Ibn Butlân's life history:

IBN AL-QIFTI, *Târîkh al-Hukamâ'*, ed. Lippert (Leipzig 1903), p. 294-315 and many other places.

something of his manner of controversy later on and in his own words. He died about 453/1061 in Cairo. He formed many pupils, and although his opponent, Ibn Butlân, in his polemical attacks, claimed that they were all bad practitioners, we know to the contrary about some of them by Ibn Abî Usaibi'a. This historian of the Arabic-writing physicians mentions as Ibn Ridwân's best pupil the Jewish physician and bibliophile Afrâ'îm (Ephraim) ibn az-Zaffân, and as his friend and pupil also refers to the Fâtimid prince, philosopher, writer and bibliophile al-Mubashshir ibn Fâtik. Ibn Ridwân was, like so many other Arabic physicians, a polyhistor and a copious writer. We shall discuss his scientific output when commenting (below, p. 19) on the long list of his works (13).

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(13) Bibliography of Ibn Riḍwân's life history :

IBN AL-QIFTI, *Târikh al-Hukamâ'*, ed. Lippert (Leipzig 1903), p. 294, 298 foll., 443 foll.

IBN ABI USAIBI'A, *'Uyûn al-Anbâ'*, ed. A. Müller (Königsberg and Cairo 1882-4), vol. II, p. 99-105.

STEINSCHNEIDER, *Al-Fârâbi* (Mém. de l'Ac. Imp. des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, VIIe série, t. XIII, No. 4, 1869), especially pp. 170-175.

STEINSCHNEIDER, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache* (Leipzig 1877), p. 96-8, 149, 329.

STEINSCHNEIDER, *Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin 1893), p. 354, 525 foll., 733-5.

STEINSCHNEIDER, *Vite di matematici arabi tratte da un'opera di Bernardino Baldi* (Roma 1874), p. 40-55 (containing the old literature).

WUESTENFELD, *Geschichte der arabischen Aerzte und Naturforscher* (Göttingen 1840), p. 80-2.

DE SACY, *Relation de l'Egypte par Abd-Allatif* (Paris 1810), p. 103 foll.

L. LECLERC, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, vol. I (Paris 1876), p. 525-530.

C. BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, vol. I (Weimar 1898), p. 484.

H. SUTER, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke* (Leipzig 1900), p. 103 foll.

CASIRI, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis*, vol. I (Madrid 1760), p. 347 and 350.

BARHEBRAEUS, *Târîkh Mukhtasar ad-Duwal*, ed. Ṣâliḥânî (Bairût 1890), p. 331-4.

and after so many disastrous events, the flourishing of sciences, arts and crafts continued in Egypt under the Fâtimid rule and after. And the accomplishments of men of science, of artists and craftsmen, are still found in many libraries and museums, filling with admiration all those who see them.

To return to our theme, the controversy in question took place in Cairo in 441 A.H. (=1049/1050 A.D.) between two adversaries who were, both of them, learned physicians, but of very different education and character. One of them was 'Alî ibn Ridwân, an Egyptian of lowly origin, born in 388/998, the son of a baker in Gîza, the still existing suburb of Cairo on the left bank of the Nile. He was very poor, had a hard youth and had to earn his living and the money for his instruction by astrological forecasting in the streets and by other similar practices. He never had a master, which has been a matter of reproach to him later in his life. He says himself that he did not possess the means to pay the apprentice's fee demanded by medical practitioners of those days. He never left Egypt and perhaps not even Cairo. After his thirtieth year he began to acquire a good medical reputation, and when he was appointed as Chief Physician by the Caliph (probably al-Mustansir ([12*])) — following in this dignity the grandson of the Coptic physician Nastâs (Anastasius) ibn Juraij — he found soon the way to prosperity and wealth. According to his own autobiography he was rather avaricious, and one of his biographers relates that he lost his reason towards the end of his life on account of a loss of a large sum of money. He was, moreover, of combative disposition, and he attacked colleagues and contemporaries and, even, famous authorities of bygone times. We will see

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bassidi (Firenze 1928), p. 25. There were however some private libraries left, among others those of the Fâṭimid prince al-Mubashshir ibn Fâtik and of two Jewish physicians, Ephraim and Salâma ibn Raḥamûn, all of them pupils of Ibn Ridwân. See M. Meyerhof, *Ueber einige Privatbibliotheken im fatimidischen Aegypten*, in Rivista degli Studi Orientali, vol. XII (Roma 1930), p. 286-90. As to the reign of the Caliph al-Mustanṣir bi-'llâh see De Lacy O'Leary, *A Short History of the Fâtimid Khalifate* (London 1923), p. 193-210; H.A.R. Gibb and [illegible] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s. v. al-Mustanṣir bi-'llâh.

([12*]) See p. 38 n. 12.

attracted the attention of two of the best historians of science, Ibn al-Qiftî and Ibn Abî Usaibi'a, and has been mentioned in Leclerc's great History of Arabian Medicine [10]. It happened just at the same period that the celebrated Persian poet, mystic and traveller Nâsir-i-Khusraw made his two years sojourn in Cairo (439/1048-441/1050) and reported that Egypt was the only land in the Islamic world which was not torn asunder by internal troubles and wars, but enjoyed a well-being unknown elsewhere [11]. This was under the very long and at first peaceful reign of the Fâtimid Caliph al-Mustansir bi-'llâh (427/1036-487/1094) who was a less ardent friend of the sciences than his predecessors, but nevertheless allowed scholars of all races and religions to stay in his land and to profit from the numerous libraries and other institutions created before and under his rule. Years of almost unbroken peace were followed by an era of prosperity lasting until the death of the capable vizier al-Yâzûrî (in 450/1058). Very soon after this time of splendour Egypt came to the verge of ruin by seven subsequent years of famine caused by a low Nile. They were followed by plague and by constant bloody quarrels between the Negro mercenaries and the Turkish and Berber soldiers, owing to the utter helplessness of the Caliph. His rich treasury was ruthlessly plundered by the barbarous and licentious soldiery. But a much greater loss was the brutal destruction of the unique library of the Caliphs, the *Dâr al-'Ilm* ("The House of Science"), which had been founded by al-Mustansir's grandfather the Caliph al-Hâkim bi-Amri-'llâh [12]. Notwithstanding, during

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(10) L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, vol. I (Paris 1876), p. 489 foll.

(11) *Sefer Nameh, Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrou*. Publ., trad. etc. par Charles Schefer (Paris 1881). A better edition of the Persian text is that of Berlin (Kaviani 1923). We quote two passages from Schefer's edition : (p. 154) "I saw at Misr such an amount of riches that nobody would believe me in Persia if I tried to describe them .... I never knew a land enjoying such a tranquillity and security as Egypt"; (p. 159) "The tranquillity and calm are so great in Misr that mercers, money-changers and goldsmiths do not shut the doors of their shops. They find it sufficient to spread out a net in front of their premises, and nobody ventures to steal anything".

(12) See Olga Pinto, *Le biblioteche degli Arabi nell' età degli Ab-*

Christian, and, incidentally, equally a pupil of Yahyâ ibn 'Adî. He wrote philosophical and medical books and formed many celebrated pupils. Towards the end of his life he was captured by Sultan Mahmûd of Ghazna whom we have previously mentioned, and forced to live at the court of this orthodox ruler who obliged him to adopt the Islamic faith. Abû Hayyân had vivid controversies with the learned viziers Ibn 'Abbâd (d.377/986) and Ibn al-'Amîd (d.366/876) who were ministers to the Buwaihid rulers in 'Irâq, skilled warriors and Mu'tazilite philosophers. Abû Hayyân composed a pamphlet called *Dhamm al-Wazîrain* ("Blame of the two Viziers") which caused sensation ; a manuscript copy of it is supposed to exist in Istanbul (6), and an extract of it is given by Yâqût in his biography of Ibn 'Abbâd (7). The main work of Abû Sulaimân al-Mantiqî himself is entitled صوان الحكمة *Siwân al-Hikma* ("Receptacle of Wisdom") ; it is a biographical work, mainly on Greek philosophers. The original is lost but we can form an idea about its contents from an extract which exists in three MSS. in Instanbul (8). Abû Sulaimân gives in his book the biographies and learned sentences of Thales, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Alexander (of Aphrodisias), Diogenes, Theophrastus, Eudemus, Hermes (Trismegistus), Xenophon, Euclid, Solon, Homer, Hippocrates, Cebes, Ptolemy, Apollonius, Galen and John the Grammarian, followed by the enumeration of the earliest philosophers of the Islamic period. An edition of this work which was very much esteemed in the Orient during the Middle Ages is badly wanted (9).

One century later a polemical disputation took place in Cairo between two famous physicians who were not only medical practitioners but also trained in ancient philosophy. This controversy

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(6) See EI vol. I, p. 88 (s.v. Abû Ḥaiyân).

(7) *The Irshâd al-Arîb ilâ Ma'rifat al-Adîb or Dictionary of Learned Men of Yâqût*, ed. D.S. Margoliouth (Gibb Memorial Series VI, 2), London 1925, p. 273-346.

(8) In the libraries Beshir Agha 494, Murad Molla 1408 and Köprülü 902. See Martin Plessner, *Beiträge zur islamischen Literaturgeschichte*, in *Islamica* (Leipzig), vol. IV, p. 534-8.

(9) It was continued by Ẓahîr ad-Dîn 'Alî al-Baihaqî (d. 570/1174): *Tatimmat Siwân al-Hikma* (edited in Arabic and Persian by Muḥammad Shafî', Lahore 1935).

(Averroes), Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar) and Maimonides from Spain, Ibn an-Nafîs from Egypt, Fakhr ad-Dîn ar-Râzî and Nasîr ad-Dîn at-Tûsî from Persia. The merit of these men to have maintained the ancient sciences is so much the greater, inasmuch as the Islamic orthodoxy which had been always opposed to these studies (3), was very strong ever since the end of the XIth cent., and exerted a well-nigh overwhelming influence at the courts of those kings and princes who were inclined to promote learning.

More favorable to scholarship were the Xth and XIth centuries. We have much information about the intense scientific life in the afore-mentioned centres during this whole period, and especially in Baghdad. Here, several prominent scholars, mostly medical men with philosophical knowledge, formed the nuclei of circles in which the reading and commenting of Greek scientific works was eagerly promoted and pursued. The best known of these circles is that of Abû Sulaimân as-Sijistânî, a Persian Muslim who was a pupil of the famous Christian philosopher Yaḥyâ ibn 'Adî (4). His home was called "a resting place (*maqîl*) for the adepts of the ancient sciences." The memory of the learned meetings in his house has been perpetuated by the *Muqâbasât* ("Learned Entertainments") of Abû Hayyân at-Tawhîdî, a Persian scholar who belonged to the circle of intimate friends of Abû Sulaimân (5). This latter, with the honorific name of *al-Mantiqî* ("the Logician"), was seconded by other scholars, among whom we will name only Abu'l-Khair al-Hasan whose nickname was Ibn al-Khammâr ("Son of the Wine Merchant"). He was a

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(3) See I. Goldziher, *Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften* (Abhandl. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch., Jahr. 1915, Phil.-hist. Kl. Nr. 8), Berlin 1916. A later work directed against the ancient sciences, ترجح اساليب القرآن على اساليب اليونان "The Superiority of the Doctrines of the Qur'ân over those of the Greeks" by Muḥammad ibn Ibrâhîm ibn al-Wazîr (d. 840/1437; see BROCKELMANN vol. II, p. 188, No. 8), has been printed in Cairo 1349/1931. An early representative of the Arabic pride in face of the achievements of the Greeks is the famous polyhistor al-Jâḥiẓ (see below, p. 99 n. 40), especially in his كتاب الحيوان "Book of Animals".

(4) See below, p. 47 n. 55.

(5) A new and good edition of this valuable work has been published by Ḥasan as-Sandûbî in Cairo 1347/1929.

sciences of the Ancients among themselves and with their Christian and Jewish contemporaries. This movement began in the second half of the IXth cent. A.D. and continued throughout the Xth cent., mostly in Baghdad. The capital of the Caliphs' empire was then the centre of the intellectual activities of the Arab genius, e.g. theology, jurisprudence, philology and history, and at the same time the unlocked door to the afore-named « ancient sciences" (علوم الاوائل).

In the same IV/Xth century another centre rose in distant Spain, at the court of the great Caliphs of Cordova, 'Abd ar-Rahmân III. and Hishâm II., and yet a third one in Qairawân (now Tunisia) at the court of the Fâtimid rulers who conquered Egypt in 968 A.D. During the V/XIth cent. we observe the spread of Greek learning over an increasingly great area : new centres were formed in many Persian towns where new dynasties arose, for example in Ispahân, in Jurjân, in Khwârizm (now Khiva), and also in Ghazna (now Afghanistân) at the court of the Sultan Mahmûd, the warlike conqueror of Northern India. At his court lived one of the greatest thinkers of the Islamic world and the most prominent naturalist of the Middle Ages, Abu'r-Raihân Muhammad al-Bêrûnî. This man, in the preface of his *Book on Drugs* (كتاب الصيدنة) [2] which he composed towards the end of his life (in 1050 A.D.), bore witness in clear words to the fact that the sciences of the Muslims were almost wholly dependent on the Greek learning, and not influenced by the Indian sciences. In this same century, the ancient sciences were cultivated in the empire of the Fâtimid (Shî'ite) Caliphs of Egypt and Syria, especially in Cairo and Damascus. In the West, Qairawân remained an important centre, and in Spain, Toledo, Sevilla, Murcia and other towns, all capitals of small kingdoms, strove to equal Cordova in importance.

The same is still true for the XIIth and XIIIth centuries A.D. where we observe scores of scholars learned in the Sciences of Antiquity in the East, as well as in the West, of the Islamic world. We bring to mind alone those great figures of Ibn Rushd

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[2] M. Meyerhof, *Das Vorwort zur Drogenkunde des Bêrûnî* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwiss. u.d. Medizin, vol. III, 3), Berlin 1932, p. 39.

INTRODUCTION

The scienfitic training of the Arabs [1] began only about a century after they had conquered the lands of highly civilized peoples, viz. in the first half of the VIIIth cent. A.D. We learn something about isolated translation of medical books from Syriac into Arabic during the reign of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. But the real progress of translation from Syriac, Persian and Indian, into Arabic, set in under the first 'Abbâsid Caliphs, at the end of that same century. These translations were not yet the common intellectual property of all; but they were very soon followed, during the entire IXth century, by a flood of translations of Greek scientific works. It is well known that this was due to the activity of Syriac-speaking Christians — and first and foremost came Hunain ibn Is-hâq [1*] and his school—who were encouraged and grouped together in translation institutes by several of the Caliphs, most pre-eminently al-Ma'mûn and al-Mu'tadid. Consequently, at the end of the IIIrd/IXth cent., the bulk of the Greek philosophical (mostly Aristotelian), medical, astronomical, mathematical and geographical writings, as well as books on alchemy and husbandry, was accessible in good Arabic translations. The result was that of a fertilizing rain: hundreds of Muslim scholars eagerly began to study and to appropriate Greek learning, and to discuss the

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(1) See M. Meyerhof, in *The Legacy of Islam* (Oxford 1931), p. 311-55.

(1*) This celebrated physician, philosopher and translator whose name will recur more than once in the present publication, was born at Ḥîrâ ('Irâq) in 194/809 and died in Baghdad in 260/873. See *Fihrist* 294 foll.; IQ 171-7; IAU I 184-200; BROCKELMANN I 205 foll. and *Supplement* I 366-9; EI s.v. Ḥunain. Moreover: G. Bergstraesser, *Hunain ibn Ishâk und seine Schule*, Leiden 1913; M. Meyerhof, *New Light on Hunain ibn Ishâq and His Period*, in Isis, vol. VIII (Bruxelles 1926), p. 685-724; George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol. I (Baltimore 1927), p. 611-3.

Tatimma — ʿAlî ibn Zaid al-Baihaqî, *Tatimma (sic) Siwân al-Hikma*, ed. Mohammad Shafîʿ, fasc. I (Arabic text), Lahore 1935

Yâqût, *Geography* — *Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 6 vols., Leipzig 1866-70

Yâqût, *Irshâd* — *The Irshâd al-Arîb ilâ Maʿrifat al-Adîb or Dictionary of Learned Men* of Yâqût, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, 7 vols., London 1907-27

ZAMBAUR — E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hanovre 1927

Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* is cited in the edition of H. Aubert and F. Wimmer, 2 vols., Leipzig 1868.

LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

BROCKELMANN	C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2 vols., Weimar 1898-1902
BROCKELMANN, *Supplement*	the same work, *Supplementbände*, Leiden 1936 foll.
EI	*The Encyclopaedia of Islâm*, 4 vols., Leyden and London 1913-36
Fihrist	*Kitâb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, vol. 1 (text), Leipzig 1871
IAU	Ibn Abî Usaibi'a, *'Uyûn al-anbâ' fî tabaqât al-atibbâ'*, ed. A. Müller, Königsberg and Cairo 1882-4
IB	Ibn Butlân
Ibn Khallikân	*Wafayât al-A'yân*, 2 vols., Bûlâq 1299 (1882 A.D.)
IQ	Ibn al-Qiftî, *Târîkh al-hukamâ'*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903
IR	Ibn Ridwân
LECL.	L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, 2 vols., Paris 1876
SARTON	G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 2 vols. in 3 parts, Baltimore 1927-31
Shadharât	'Abd al-Hayy ibn al-'Imâd al-Hanbalî, *Shadharât adh-Dhahab fî akhbâr man dhahab*, 8 vols., Cairo 1350-1 (1931-2 A.D.)
Subkî	Tâj ad-Dîn as-Subkî, *Tabaqât ash-Shâfi'îya al-kubrâ*, 6 vols., Cairo 1324 (1906 A.D.)
SUTER	H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1900
Târîkh Baghdâd	al-Khatîb al-Baghdâdî, *Târîkh Baghdâd*, 14 vols., Cairo 1349 (1931 A.D.)

PREFACE

Of the studies which have led to the present publication, each one of us has given a preliminary account : J. SCHACHT in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XC (Leipzig 1936), p. 526-45 (*Ueber den Hellenismus in Baghdad und Cairo im 11. Jahrhundert*), and M. MEYERHOF in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte*, vol. XIX (Le Caire 1937), p. 29-43 (*Une controverse médico-philosophique au Caire en 441 de l'Hégire, 1050 ap. J.-C.*).

This publication has been made possible thanks to the kindness of Dr. Dâwûd al-Chalabî of Mosul, who had photographed for us the most important of the manuscripts used. Further, we are thoroughly indebted to Dr. R. Dobbin, Professor at the Faculty of Medecine of the Egyptian University, for his revision of the English text. We also wish to express our gratitude to the Faculty of Arts of the same University, and its Dean Dr. Taha Husain Bey, for admitting this book into the series of its publications. It is regrettable that diacritical points were available neither for the English text nor for the italics in the notes, and that vowel-signs could not be added to the Arabic text.

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THE EGYPTIAN UNIVERSITY

THE FACULTY OF ARTS
PUBLICATION No. 13

The Medico-Philosophical Controversy Between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo

A Contribution to the History of Greek Learning Among the Arabs

BY

JOSEPH SCHACHT and MAX MEYERHOF

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